Chapters on the

1806 Haystack Prayer Meeting
and the
American Board of Commissioners
for Foreign Missions

BIRTHPLACE OF AMERICAN MISSIONS.

Rev. Dr. Douglas K. Showalter
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Rev. Dr. Douglas K. Showalter is a United Church of Christ minister who, during his 39 years of ordained parish ministry, served UCC churches in:

Benson and Orwell, Vermont [1973-1976]
Belfast, Maine [1978-1987]
Falmouth, Massachusetts [1987-2011]
Plymouth, Massachusetts [Interim Minister: 2011-2012].

Doug grew up in New London, Connecticut, and is a graduate of Bowdoin College [B.A.], Yale Divinity School [M. Div.], and Chicago Theological Seminary [D. Min.]. He has long been involved in researching, writing, and teaching the history of American Congregationalism, which was one of the denominational groups which merged in 1957 to form the modern United Church of Christ.

Doug presented a workshop at Williams College for the 2006 Bicentennial celebration of the 1806 Haystack Prayer Meeting in Williamstown, MA. He compiled this booklet in 2006 in preparation for that event.

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Note: A very helpful source on the ABCFM, which Doug contributed some information to years after compiling this 2006 booklet, is: **The Role of the American Board in the World: Bicentennial Reflections on the Organization's Missionary Work, 1810-2010** / edited by Clifford Putney and Paul T. Burlin, Wipf & Stock Publishers Eugene, OR 2012.

Introduction

This booklet explores the emergence of American foreign missions with particular focus on the Haystack Prayer Meeting and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions which grew out of it. This booklet is a "work in progress" which will be expanded later. The story of the Haystack Prayer Meeting has been told and re-told so many times without any reference to historical sources that one might almost assume that it is a legend. Yet, the Haystack Prayer Meeting was an historic event. And although not widely known or consulted in modern times, an account of that prayer meeting was given by an eye-witness to it, albeit many years after it occurred.

The first chapter in this booklet seeks to present the story of the Haystack Prayer Meeting and information related to it, as accurately as possible, given available historical sources. This chapter was recently submitted for publication in *The Bulletin* of the Congregational Library in Boston. This booklet's second chapter contains the text of a letter written in 1854 by Byram Green, which gives a basic description of the 1806 Haystack Prayer Meeting in which he participated.

The third chapter of this booklet contains an account of the founding of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1810 at Bradford, Massachusetts; a copy of the text from the original published record of its founding; and a survey of the identities of the individuals either involved in that event or appointed to serve as the Board's first Commissioners. The fourth chapter contains a chronology of the rise of American foreign missions up through 1812.

The fifth chapter presents basic information on the ABCFM including its original sense of purpose, the organization of its missions, and its denominational relationships through the years. The sixth chapter presents a chronology of the ABCFM since 1813, with particular emphasis on its first hundred years. The seventh chapter contains a select bibliography for those who wish to investigate these subjects more closely for themselves.

IMAGE SOURCES

Birthplace of American Missions -- Samuel Orcutt, *History of Torrington, Connecticut from its First Settlement in 1737, With Biographies and Genealogies* (Albany: J. Munser, 1878).

Haystack Monument, ABCFM Table, Salem Tabernacle Church Settee -- "The American Board, 1810--Centennial Leaflet--1910" (Boston: ABCFM, 1910).

Harriet Newell, Missionary Touring (India), Native Congregation (Hawaii) -- *Mission Stories of Many Lands: A Book for Young People* (Boston: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1885), 149, 165, 182.

A Native Catechist — *In Lands Afar: A Second Series of Mission Stories of Many Lands, A Book for Young People* (Boston: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1897), 195.

ABCFM Seal, Missionary Preaching — *The Day Breaking; or, Light in Dark Lands* (Boston: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1870), Title Page, 41.

ABCFM Centennial Monument — *Proceedings at the Unveiling of the Monument to Commemorate the Organization of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Bradford, Mass., October 12, 1910*.

Rev. Dr. Douglas K. Showalter
First Congregational Church of Falmouth, Massachusetts of the United Church of Christ
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CHAPTER ONE

A STORM, A HAYSTACK, AND "A STILL, SMALL VOICE"

Have you been to the Haystack Monument? It marks the site where American foreign missions were born in 1806. A good time to visit it will be this coming September 22-24, when the Bicentennial of that birth will be celebrated. That will be an historic event in itself, as was its Centennial celebration in 1906.[1] Reflecting their Calvinist heritage, American Congregationalists have sometimes been loathe to view any location, even their houses of worship, as "sacred spaces."[2] Yet, over the past two centuries they and many other Christians have found great spiritual significance in this site.

Made of polished, silver blue Berkshire marble and standing twelve feet high, the Haystack Monument holds aloft a replica of Earth. On the eastern face of the shaft supporting that globe, the monument proclaims Jesus' words, "The Field Is the World," a reminder of his call to "preach the gospel to every creature."

The Haystack Monument is in Mission Park on the Williams College campus in Williamstown, Massachusetts. It marks the spot where on a hot Saturday afternoon in late July or early August of 1806, five Williams College students who regularly gathered for prayer in a maple grove, were forced by a sudden thunderstorm to move their meeting under a nearby farmer's haystack.[3] Here is their story.

As the storm raged over the haystack, those students expressed concerns about the moral condition of Asia. At the time there was public interest in India, due to the presence there of the British East India Company and also English Baptist missionaries who were striving to translate, print, and distribute the Holy Bible throughout India, in the seven major languages spoken there.[4]

Suddenly, in the midst of the students' discussion, 23-year-old Samuel J. Mills, Jr., a Connecticut Congregational minister's son, made a startling proposal. He told the group that they themselves should send the saving gospel of Jesus Christ to Asia's non-Christians. Mills' proposal was startling because American Protestants at that time were engaged only in home missions. And many of them believed that foreign mission work was an impractical or even fanatical idea.[5] Mills encouraged his fellow students, declaring that they could do it if they would.

Mills was steeped in America's Second Great Awakening with its revivals, its calls for spiritual rebirth, and its desire to serve both God and all humanity through selfless acts of

benevolence.[6] A revival initiated in 1798 by young people in Mills' hometown of Torringford, Connecticut, led fifteen-year-old Mills into deep despair over his own sinfulness. But then in 1801, as he walked down a road, Mills had a new vision of God's goodness and mercy which made everything around him seem "gilded with light and glory." That joyful experience calmed his heart and led him to hope that he was among God's elect to be saved.

Then, in 1802, like Elisha who received God's call while plowing a field,[7] Mills was plowing a Connecticut field, when he was so filled with compassion for non-Christians in distant lands, that he dedicated his life to bringing the gospel to them. Mills believed that without the gospel, those people had absolutely no hope of salvation and their souls were perishing. Mills came to see evangelization of the world as a duty for Christians, and he had great trust that God would guide and support that work, if Christians would attempt it.

As a child, Mills had been consecrated by his mother for missionary work. However, when she learned of his decision to become a foreign missionary, she was surprised and filled with tears over the sacrifices such ministry would require. When she consecrated her son years before, she, typical of her time, assumed that his mission work would only be done in America, on its expanding frontier.

As it happened, Mills' proposal under the haystack was received with considerable delight. The students' feelings ran high as they discussed and eagerly agreed to send the gospel to Asia. At Mills' suggestion, the remainder of their meeting was spent praying for the development of such foreign missions from their young nation. Then, they closed their meeting with a hymn, as the sky began to clear. Years later, this small, but inspired gathering was celebrated as the Haystack Prayer Meeting, the moment when American foreign missions were born.

The Haystack Monument was dedicated on July 28, 1867. At that ceremony, the monument's donor, the Honorable Harvey Rice, described the students' stirring experience this way:

> *"It was a sublime moment for them and for the world. The heavens darkened. The lightnings flashed. Dread thunders rolled. The rain fell. Yet, amid this conflict of the elements, there came 'a still, small voice,' as if from the storm-cloud. It was a divine whisper--an inspired thought--which stirred the life-current in the heart of Mills...That inspired thought, broad as the earth in its comprehension, Mills announced to his devout companions. They felt its divinity, and regarded it as a divine communication."*[8]

This meeting was also remarkable because of the participants' young age. At age 23, Samuel Mills was the oldest. The others present were James Richards, Jr., 22; Byram Green, 20; Harvey Loomis, about 20; and Francis L. Robbins, 18.[9]

It is not often noted, but there was one dissenting voice at the Haystack Prayer Meeting. Harvey Loomis would not agree to Mills' proposition and he did not join in the group's prayers for foreign missions. Loomis maintained that Mill's idea was premature, that Christian

missionaries would be murdered in Asia. He believed that "civilization" would have to be brought to that region first. Loomis even went so far as to insist that another region would have to be subdued by Christian armies first, before it could ever be evangelized. But Mills and the other three students were not deterred.

In the meeting's final prayer, Mills did not pray for the assistance of earthly armies. Yet, mindful of possible dangers in distant lands still largely unknown to Westerners, Mills did ask God,

> *"to strike down the arm, with the red artillery of heaven, that should be raised against a herald of the cross.*"

Reflecting on the Haystack Prayer Meeting one hundred years later, Dr. Edward Capen wrote,

> *Had Mills and his friends stopped at this point, there would have been no haystack monument. They not only prayed that the way might be opened for service abroad, but they proceeded to answer their own prayers.*[10]

After the haystack experience, these students and some others held many more prayer meetings with foreign missions as a theme. Then, on September 7, 1808, Mills and four fellow students[11] organized a society at Williams College, which has been called the "First Foreign Missionary Society in America."[12]

Known as the Brethren, that society's purpose was "*to effect, in the person of its members, a mission to the heathen*." Its members were committed to taking the gospel overseas themselves, not just send it with others. The Brethren worked to promote the cause of foreign missions by distributing sermons and enlisting support from prominent ministers. But, they kept their society's existence secret and wrote its minutes in cipher, out of concern that their efforts might fail and they would be seen as fanatics. In 1810, the Brethren and its work were transferred to Andover Theological Seminary when Mills joined some fellow Williams students there for ministerial training.

Samuel Mills and three other members of the Andover Brethren took a bold step in the summer of 1810.[13] They sought guidance and aid for their missionary aspirations from the General Association of Massachusetts Proper, at its annual meeting held in Bradford, Massachusetts. The GAMP was Trinitarian in orientation and made up of delegates from various Congregational ministers' groups around Massachusetts--a predecessor to today's Massachusetts Conference of the United Church of Christ.

Stirred to tears and even made to *"feel small...to see those young men offering themselves to go and preach to the heathen,*" as one older delegate later said,[14] the GAMP voted on June 29, 1810 to form the organization which soon became known as the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.[15] This new organization's purpose was to devise ways and means to promote the spread of the gospel in non-Christian lands.[16]

With the creation of the ABCFM, American Protestant history entered a brand new chapter. The ABCFM sent out its earliest missionaries to India (1812), Ceylon (1815), the Cherokee nation (1817), the Choctaw nation (1818), the Sandwich Islands (1819), and Palestine (1819).

The ABCFM's work soon led many American Protestants to value foreign missions and feel it was their duty to support them. Following the ABCFM's lead, numerous other Protestant foreign missionary societies sprang up in 19th century America. At the time of its 100th anniversary in 1910, the ABCFM was reported to have 595 active missionaries serving in 20 different mission fields around the world.[17]

The ABCFM was created by Congregationalists. However, with its incorporation in 1812, the ABCFM became an independent society which conducted its missionary work in conjunction with different denominational groups, including Congregationalists. In the 20th century, the ABCFM was brought within the denominational structure of Congregationalism. Today, its work is continued by the Wider Church Ministries department of the United Church of Christ.[18]

How did the lives of those five students at the Haystack Prayer Meeting turn out? Samuel Mills served as a home missionary, making two journeys preaching and organizing Bible societies, as far from New England as St. Louis and New Orleans. He played key roles in the founding of other mission oriented groups, including the American Bible Society formed in 1816. Mills died in 1818, while returning from a trip to select a settlement site in Africa for the American Colonization Society.

James Richards was among the first ABCFM missionaries sent to Ceylon in 1815, but he soon became ill and then died in 1822. Byram Green gave up his ministerial aspirations due to illness. Later he held elected positions and a judgeship in New York. He was elected to the U. S. Congress in 1843 and died in 1865.

Harvey Loomis became a home missionary and served a Congregational church in Bangor, Maine, until he died in his pulpit in 1825. He was about to preach on Jeremiah 28:16, *"This year thou shalt die."* Francis L. Robbins became a home missionary, but then served the Congregational church in Enfield, Connecticut for 34 years, until his death in 1850.

The bonds of secrecy were so strong among these students, that for many years after the Haystack Prayer Meeting, its date, its exact location, and even the names of all its participants were not known. Fortunately, in 1854, Byram Green, the last surviving participant, put a cedar stake in the ground where the haystack had been and he described that prayer meeting in a letter to a Williams College professor.

Over the centuries since 1806, the nature and theology of American foreign missions have evolved. Respect for other cultures and religions has deepened. Mistakes have been learned from. But still, after 200 years, that inspired Haystack Prayer Meeting which gave birth to those

missions, and the site where that meeting took place, have been greatly cherished.

ENDNOTES

1. See *The One Hundredth Anniversary of the Haystack Prayer Meeting Celebrated at the Ninety-Seventh Annual Meeting of the American Board In North Adams And by the Haystack Centennial Meetings at Williamstown, Mass., October 9-12, 1906* (Boston, 1907).

2. Peter W. Williams, "Metamorphoses of the Meetinghouse: Three Case Studies," in Paul Corby Finney, ed., *Seeing Beyond the Word: Visual Arts and the Calvinist Tradition* (Grand Rapids, 1999), 479-505.

3. The only eye witness accounts of the Haystack Prayer Meeting I have found are those given by Byram Green in letters. Two of those letters, dated August 22, 1854 and July 10, 1856, were sent to Williams College Professor Albert Hopkins. The first letter describes the event; the second more specifically identifies the time of it. See *Proceedings of the Missionary Jubilee, held at Williams College, August 5, 1856 (*Boston, 1856), 7,8, and 29 footnote. The Archives & Special Collections department of Williams College possesses a copy of a third Green letter, dated February 15, 1857 and sent to Rev. Samuel M. Worcester, D.D., which defends the 1806 date and provides additional clarifications. See *Williams College Autographs*, Vol. 2, 139.

In his 1854 letter, Green spoke of the Haystack Prayer Meeting as having taken place under a haystack. Others, including noted 19th century Williams College President Mark Hopkins, spoke of it as having taken place beside or in the lee of the haystack. At the 1906 Haystack Prayer Meeting centennial celebration in Williamstown, the five students were portrayed as crouching beside the haystack, "partially protected at least from the storm." See The Haystack Centennial Committee, *The Haystack Prayer Meeting: An Account of its Origin and Spirit* (The De Vinne Press, 1906), 16.

4. Although it is not often noted, a special appeal had been published in April 1806 for American Christians of all denominations to give financial support to the Bible translation work of English Baptist missionary William Carey and his colleagues in Serampore and Bengal, India. This appeal was endorsed by numerous American church leaders, including Congregationalist Timothy Dwight, then President of Yale College. See "Philadelphia, Feb. 4th, 1806, Propagation of the Gospel" in the *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine*, Vol. VI, No.10, April, 1806, 396-399. It seems likely that Samuel Mills knew of this appeal, as his father was both a contributor to the *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine* and an editor of it for many years. Also, the June 1806 edition of the *Massachusetts Missionary Magazine* published this appeal and a recommendation from the *Boston Association of Ministers* that "the ministers and churches of the Commonweath" support this project in India. See "Propagation of the Gospel" in the *Massachusetts Missionary Magazine*, Vol. IV, No. 2, July, 1806, 24-30.

5. At this time American Congregationalists had the example of Independents in England who had helped form the London Missionary Society in 1795 for the purpose of sponsoring foreign missions. See Alan Frederick Perry, *The American Board of Commissioners For Foreign Missions and the London Missionary Society in the Nineteenth Century: A Study of Ideas* (Washington University, Ph. D. Thesis, 1974).

An impassioned call to English students to enter foreign missionary service through the London Missionary Society was published in 1805. It began: *"Hundreds of millions of Pagans are perishing for lack of the knowledge of God, and of Jesus Christ his Son, whom to know is everlasting life. The London Mission Society wants Missionaries to go and turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God." See* A Friend of Missions, "To Pious Young Men," *The Evangelical Magazine* (London, April, 1805), 169-171.

6. Gardiner Spring, *Memoirs of the Rev. Samuel J. Mills, Late Missionary to the South Western Section of the United States, and Agent of the American Colonization Society, Deputed to Explore the Coast of Africa* (New York, 1820); Thomas C. Richards, *Samuel J. Mills: Missionary Pathfinder, Pioneer and Promoter* (Boston, 1906).

7. I Kings 19:11-21.

8. The Hon. Harvey Rice in *Proceedings at the Dedication of the Missionary Monument, in Mission Park, Williamstown, Mass., July 28, 1867 (*Boston, 1867), 10.

9. John Hewitt, *Williams College and Foreign Missions: Biographical Sketches of Williams College Men Who Have Rendered Special Service to the Cause of Foreign Missions* (Boston, 1914).

10. Edward Warren Capen, "The Haystack Prayer Meeting," The Envelope Series: A Quarterly. (Boston: ABCFM, Vol. IX, No. 1, April, 1906), 19. Capen was the son of Samuel B. Capen, ABCFM President at the time of the Haystack Prayer Meeting Centennial.

11. The other four students were James Richards of the Haystack Prayer Meeting and Ezra Fisk, John Seward, and Luther Rice.

12. Earlier in America there was concern for foreign missions. In 1773, Samuel Hopkins of Newport, Rhode Island, was instrumental in forming the African Education Society. Its goal was to send African Americans as missionaries to Western Africa, but it was unsuccessful in fulfilling its purpose. See Charles L. Chaney, *The Birth of Missions in America* (Southern Pasadena, CA, 1976), 76-77, 182; Oliver Wendell Elsbree, *The Rise of the Missionary Spirit in America: 1790-1815* (Philadelphia, 1980) Reprint from 1928 First Edition, 109-110.

Also, in 1804, the Massachusetts Missionary Society amended its constitution to include diffusing the gospel beyond America, to "more distant regions of the earth," but it did not act to fulfill that goal. See S. M. Worcester, "Art. VII--Origin of American Foreign Missions" in *The American Theological Review*, No. VIII, November, 1860, 701-702.

13. The three other Andover "Brethren" members were Adoniram Judson, Samuel Nott, and Samuel Newell. In 1812 the ABCFM's first missionaries and their wives were sent to India. Those individuals were: Adoniram and Ann Judson, Samuel and Rosanna Nott, Samuel and Harriet Newell, and Gordon Hall and Luther Rice.

14. Samuel M. Worcester, *Discourse at the Semi-Centennial Anniversary of the Institution of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions; at Bradford, Mass., June 20, 1860* (Boston, 1860), 25.

15. The General Association of Massachusetts Proper voted to form the "Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions." The word "American" was added to that name, when its new commissioners adopted a constitution for the organization at their first meeting, held at Farmington, Connecticut on September 5, 1810. See "Minutes of the First Annual Meeting" in *First Ten Annual Reports of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions with Other Documents of the Board*.(Boston: 1834), 11.

16. M. Cutler, Moderator,"Minutes of the General Association of Massachusetts Proper" in *The Panoplist and Missionary Magazine United,* Vol. III, No. 2, July, 1810, 89.

17. Fred Field Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses* (Boston, 1959), 288.

18. *"*Chronology of the Journey Toward The Common Global Ministries Board*"* in *History, Mission, and Organization of the Common Global Ministries Board: A Common Witness of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) and the United Church of Christ,* 2.

CHAPTER TWO

THE HAYSTACK PRAYER MEETING REMEMBERED, BY ONE WHO WAS THERE

The Honorable Byram Green of the Williams College Class of 1808 was one of the participants in the Haystack Prayer Meeting. In 1854 on a trip to Williamstown, Green placed a cedar stake in the ground, to identify the exact spot where that haystack had been, as that had not been known at Williamstown for decades. Green then wrote a letter to Williams College Professor Albert Hopkins to give an account of that prayer meeting. By that time, Green had been a long time resident of New York state, had served as a State Senator, a Judge of the County Courts, and a member of the U.S. Congress. In 1854, he was also the last surviving participant in the Haystack Prayer Meeting.[1]

Professor Hopkins had been born in 1807, the year following the Haystack Prayer Meeting. Hopkins held numerous teaching positions at Williams College following his graduation there in the Class of 1826. In 1854 he was a professor of natural philosophy and astronomy at Williams.[2] An article he wrote in 1840 suggests that he had a special interest in religious revivals at Williams College and the cause of foreign missions.[3]

As Byram Green wrote to Albert Hopkins in 1854:[4]

Sodus, August 22, 1854

Prof. Albert Hopkins,

Dear Sir,--Your letter of the 11th of July has been received. You request a statement of the facts in relation to a prayer meeting, which was held under a haystack, by some of the students of Williams College, in July or August, 1806. That prayer meeting becomes interesting to the Christian community, because it was then and there first proposed to send the gospel to the Pagans of Asia, and to the disciples of Mohammed. The stack of hay stood northerly from the West College, near a maple grove, in a field that was then called Sloan's meadow.

Samuel J. Mills, James Richards, Francis L. Robbins, Harvey Loomis and Byram Green were present. The afternoon was oppressively warm, which probably detained all those from the East College that usually attended, and some from the West. We first went to the grove, expecting to hold our prayer meeting there, but a dark cloud was rising in the west, and it soon began to thunder and lighten, and we left the grove and went under the haystack to protect us from the approaching storm, which was soon realized.

The subject of conversation under the stack, before and during the shower, was

the moral darkness of Asia. Mills proposed to send the gospel to that dark and heathen land; and said that we could do it if we would. We were all agreed and delighted with the idea except Loomis, who contended that it was premature; that if missionaries should be sent to Asia they would be murdered; that Christian armies must subdue the country before the gospel could be sent to the Turks and Arabs.

In reply to Loomis it was said, that God was always willing to have his gospel spread through the world; that if the Christian public was willing and active, the work would be done; that on this subject the Roman adage would be true, "Vox populi, vox Dei." 'Come," said Mills, 'let us make it a subject of prayer, under this haystack, while the dark clouds are going, and the clear sky is coming.

We all prayed, and made Foreign Missions a subject in our prayers, except Loomis. Mills made the last prayer, and was in some degree enthusiastic; he prayed that God would strike down the arm with the red artillery of heaven that should be raised against a herald of the cross. We then sang one stanza. It was as follows:

"Let all the heathen writers join
To form one perfect book
Great God, if once compared with thine,
How mean their writings look."

The prayer meetings were continued during the warm season of that year, in the groves somewhere between the village and the Hoosick, and the subject of Foreign Missions was remembered in our prayers. The following is a list of names that usually attended, to wit: John Nelson, Calvin Bushnell, Byram Green, Rufus Pomeroy, Francis L. Robbins, Samuel Ware, Edwin W. Dwight, Ezra Fisk, Harvey Loomis, Samuel J. Mills, and James Richards. Others attended occasionally.

The next summer, 1807, the prayer meetings were again held in the grove; two were added to our number, to wit: Luther Rice and John Whittlesey. I have several times seen the names of Hall and Rice numbered among those who were at the prayer meeting under the haystack. That is an error. Rice was not a member of the College until October, 1806. Hall was not a professor of religion at that time, and did not attend our religious meeting. He was made a subject of grace in the year 1808, about six or eight months before he graduated. After that he was active in the cause.

B. Green

ENDNOTES

1. *Proceedings of the Missionary Jubilee, held at Williams College, August 5, 1856 (*Boston, 1856), 5-9; John Hewitt, *Williams College and Foreign Missions: Biographical Sketches of Williams College Men Who Have Rendered Special Service to the Cause of Foreign Missions* (Boston, 1914), 6-8.

2. "Biographical Chronology of Albert Hopkins, Hopkins Family Papers, 1745-1930," *Archives and Special Collections--Collections Guide,* Williams College Archives and Special Collections, 24 March 2006 <www.williams.edu/library/archives/manuscriptguides/hopkins/bio2.html>.

3. Albert Hopkins, "Revivals of Religion at Williams College," "Journal of the American Education Society," February, 1841, *The American Quarterly Register*, Vol. XIII, 1841, 341-351. In this article, Hopkins indicates that a significant revival with many conversions did not occur at Williams College until the summer term of 1806. Hopkins goes on to say,

> *"...one conversant with the [1806 revival] scenes just described...speaks of the effects of this revival as decided and happy upon the state of things in college generally. [He said:]*
>
> > *'Some in all classes shared in it. It brought religion into the ascendant. The institution of the Theological Society was one of the fruits of it, and I have no doubt it was directly concerned in bringing out and maturing the foreign mission spirit.'*
>
> *The truth couched in the last clause of this extract is one of deep interest...Here indeed this spirit [of sympathy for millions of the human race deprived of gospel offers and hopes] was fanned into a flame which so soon after enlightened the American church into a knowledge not only of the wants and woes of heathenism but of her duty in reference to it..."*

In this article, Hopkins quotes Gardiner Spring's spare 1820 account of the Haystack Prayer Meeting found in Spring's *Memoirs of the Rev. Samuel J. Mills*. In that account, Spring tells of Samuel Mills leading two or three unnamed fellow students out to a large haystack for prayer and fasting. Spring describes that haystack as being somewhat distant from the college, where the students likely would not be seen or approached by others. He notes that at this meeting, Mills discovered that the flame for foreign missions which God set burning in his own heart long before, had also been kindled by God in those other students. Spring says nothing about a storm, but indicates that subsequently the students often met at this "consecrated spot" to spend the day "in humiliation, fasting, and prayer." Gardiner Spring, *Memoirs of the Rev. Samuel J. Mills, Late Missionary to the South Western Section of the United States, and Agent of the American Colonization Society, Deputed to Explore the Coast of Africa* (New York, 1820), 29-30. After quoting Spring, Hopkins says that the location of that haystack *"seems at present to be veiled in mystery."*

4. *Proceedings of the Missionary Jubilee, held at Williams College, August 5, 1856 (*Boston, 1856), 7-9.

CHAPTER THREE

THE FORMATION OF THE AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS IN 1810

The creation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1810 was a dramatic event which opened up a brand new chapter in American Protestantism. Some of the significance seen in that event early on is reflected in the following statement written by Dr. Samuel Worcester in a letter to Jeremiah Evarts, a few weeks before Dr. Worcester's death in 1821. Both the letter writer and its recipient were present at the June 29, 1810 meeting of the General Association of Massachusetts Proper in Bradford, Massachusetts when the ABCFM was voted into being. And both men subsequently served as officers of the ABCFM. As Dr. Worcester wrote,

> *"But what individual who took a part in those inchoative deliberations and proceedings, had any adequate anticipations of the magnitude and importance to which, in ten years they would grow? American Christians had never combined in any great enterprize or plan for spreading the knowledge of Christ, or advancing his kingdom; had never sent, from these shores, a single missionary with the message of heavenly mercy to any portion of the widely extended pagan world, lying in darkness and in wickedness, without God, and without hope.*
>
> *Some scattered and transient efforts had indeed been made, for the benefit of some of the native tribes of the American forests; but without any general union, or any expansive or systematized plan of operations. In these respects, there was no experience, no example; all was untried, all to be begun. What disposition would be found in the community, in regard to the great object was problematical."*[1]

--THE STORY--

In late July or early August of 1806 at the celebrated Haystack Prayer Meeting, Samuel J. Mills, Jr. and three of his fellow Williams College students agreed to send the Gospel to non-Christians in Asia. On September 7, 1808, Mills and some fellow Williams students took the further step of creating the "Brethren," a secret society at Williams College whose members all made the commitment to serve as foreign missionaries. In the spring of 1810, Samuel Mills entered Andover Theological Seminary to study for the ministry. That year the Williams College "Brethren" and its records were transferred to that seminary. Once at Andover, Mills soon joined with some fellow students in promoting the idea of foreign missions.

As part of that promotion, Andover student Adoniram Judson was successful in having an article published anonymously in the May 1810 edition of *The Panoplist and Missionary Magazine United*, a Congregational magazine which was published monthly in Boston. Entitled, "Concern For the Salvation of the Heathen," Judson's article made a stirring plea for the enactment of foreign missions and for young men to serve as foreign missionaries.

> *"Is it possible that eighteen centuries have elapsed since the death of Christ, and yet whole nations are still involved in pagan darkness?...*
>
> *Christian, the inhabitants of the greater part of the world, know not a Bible, a sabbath, or a church. Ignorant of the only way of life, and neglected by their brethren of the same blood, who only can impart the necessary knowledge, wretched, friendless, they pass their days in gross idolatry, and descend into the tomb without a ray of hope to gild the dreary passage.*
>
> *The parent immolates the child to appease the wrath of an imaginary god. The child abandons the aged, decrepit parent to suffer with hunger, or fall a prey to the ravenous beast. The widow ascends the funeral pile, and offers herself a burning victim with the body of her departed husband. One generation passes away after another to people the dark realms of wo. Immortal souls launch into an eternity, of which they were not informed, and for which they were entirely unprepared. The never-dying worm gnaws the anguished spirit, and the unquenchable fire burns in their eternal home...*
>
> *Young men, whose souls are fired with divine love, forsake your friends and native land. Forsake all for Christ. Go into the destitute regions of the earth and spend your days in winning souls from pagan darkness to your dear Savior."*[2]

On Tuesday, June 26, 1810, a special meeting was called at the home of Andover professor Moses Stuart to hear Mills, Judson, and some fellow students tell about their desire to serve as foreign missionaries. Some individuals at that meeting raised questions about the students' goals, and particularly about the difficulty of raising funds to support them. It's also said of Rev. Sanborn of Reading, Massachusetts that he,

> *"frankly stated his conviction that while the proposal was generous and had back of it a worthy motive, yet it was premature and seemed to savor of infatuation."* [3]

Years later it was reported that following this meeting at Professor Stuart's home, student Samuel Nott returned to his seminary room,

> *"with no expectation that anything favorable to [the students'] wishes would follow."*[4]

However, a review of the facts, appeals to have faith, and awareness of the possibility that God might be behind the students' desires, eventually led to the decision that this matter should

be brought before the annual meeting of the Trinitarian-oriented Massachusetts Congregational ministers' group known as the General Association of Massachusetts Proper. The GAMP was to begin its annual meeting the next day, Wednesday, in Bradford, Massachusetts, about ten miles from Andover.[5] That Wednesday, in the afternoon, Mills and the other students finally learned that their presence and a statement of their wishes were desired at the GAMP annual meeting.

Dr. Samuel Worcester of Salem and Dr. Samuel Spring of Newburyport both were present to hear the students' ideas at Professor Stuart's house. Early the next morning, Dr. Spring joined Dr. Worcester in his chaise ride to the Bradford meeting which was to begin at 9 A.M. During that ride of two hours or less, the two clergyman envisioned how a foreign missionary society could be structured. They even gave that society a name: the "Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions."[6] In order to make their presentation to the GAMP meeting, Samuel Mills and his three fellow seminarians traveled to Bradford on foot.[7]

The annual meeting of the General Association began on Wednesday, June 27. The following day, Thursday, June 28, at the First Church of Christ, Bradford, a statement signed by Samuel Mills and fellow Andover students, Adoniram Judson Jr., Samuel Nott Jr. and Samuel Newell, was read to the assembled group. The statement expressed the students' desire to conduct a mission overseas to non-Christians. It sought the GAMP's counsel on the matter and also support, to help them meet their goal. One delegate later wrote of the moment when the students' statement was read, saying,

> *It was heard with profound attention. It was a sound in the tops of the mulberry trees, and some of us held our breath*.[8]

Adoniram Judson was the one who drafted the students' statement. The statement originally contained six names as signatories, but the names of James Richards and Luther Rice were left off it, out of concern that the prospect of finding support for as many as six missionaries would discourage the General Association from trying to help any of them.[9] It's likely such caution was advisable, given that this ministers' group was a relatively new organization, formed in 1802/1803. The GAMP did not have representation from all the Congregational ministers' groups in the Commonwealth. Also, it's likely that many of the delegates to this annual meeting were not aware beforehand, that such a momentous subject would be on the agenda of this meeting.[10]

After the students' statement was heard and questions were asked about their views and how they came to them, the General Association referred the students' requests to a special committee for study. That committee was made up of Rev. Enoch Hale, the GAMP Secretary, and Dr. Worcester and Dr. Spring, the two clergymen who had already formulated the structure and name for a foreign missionary society, as they rode to Bradford the day before. When the four students finished their presentation, they returned to their seminary in Andover by foot.

The next day, Friday, June 29, the GAMP reconvened at the Bradford meeting house and

that specially formed committee made a report which was basically favorable to the students' requests. Guided by that special committee's report, the GAMP took several actions. It voted to create the "Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions." It appointed nine highly respected Congregationalists, both clergy and lay persons, to serve as Commissioners on this new board. It also advised Mills and the other students, to put themselves "under the patronage and direction" of this new board and wait for God's leading in the matter. As GAMP delegate Rev. John Keep later said of the GAMP's decisions:

> *"So far as I recollect, there was very little discussion...All were interested in the movement; and the members generally seemed disposed to follow, in the matter, the lead of some few then present who had fully canvassed the subject...One thing was prominent and universal, viz., a deep sense of the sublime position and devout spiritual consecration of this missionary band. They were unpretending, modest, of a tender, child-like spirit, well understanding their aim, consecrated, a felt power.*
>
> *The attitude of the meeting was about this: no direct opposition, a weak faith, a genial hope, rather leaning to a waiting posture. It obviously was a relief to a portion of the body that the subject was put into the hands of such men as those who composed the Board. In the right sense they were marked men, well suited to the emergency...The feeling was, Try it; if the project fail, it would have, from such men, an honorable burial."*[11]

A half century later, in 1860, Rev. Samuel Newell, one of the four Andover students who petitioned the GAMP that day, wrote the following statement about his three fellow petitioners, all of whom were deceased by 1860.

> *"My whole recollection of my youthful companions is, of their honest and earnest intention to publish the word of God -- to obey the command, 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature.' Their chief motivation seemed to me to be a duty to be done, and not at all a spirit of romance and adventure, or the vain conceit that they were more devoted than others who did not adopt the duty which was so plainly their own...[Theirs] was not a mere missionary spirit, but rather an essential piety taking the direction of missions; not a special earnestness belonging to a special work, but Christian devotedness accepting a specific duty, as it accepts all known duties.*" [12]

The newly appointed Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions held its first meeting around a small mahogany table[13] in the parlor of the home of Rev. and Mrs. Noah Porter in Farmington, Connecticut on September 5, 1810. The meeting was held in Farmington, likely to accommodate the Connecticut members of the Board, and particularly Governor Treadwell who lived in Farmington. However, as the Governor's home became unavailable for that meeting, it was held in the new house of Rev. Porter and his wife who were only in their second year of marriage at that point. Only five commissioners attended that meeting, but they adopted a

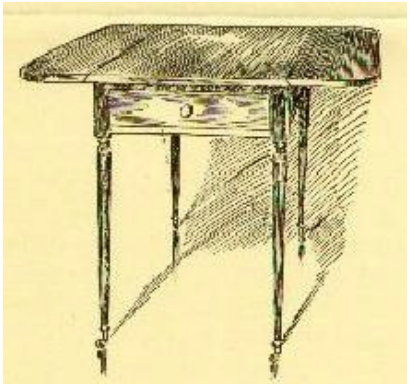

Table used by the five Commissioners of the Board at first annual meeting, 1810. Now in possession of the Board.

constitution for their new organization which renamed it the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.[14]

It is sometimes pointed out that the ABCFM was not created by Congregational churches. Rather, it was formed by a group of Congregational clergy. However, the founders of the ABCFM did expect that their new organization would receive the support of Congregational churches and their members.

Why wasn't the ABCFM founded by Congregationalist churches? One explanation is that Congregational churches in America were very slow to develop representative bodies beyond their individual churches which could work together effectively to reach mutual goals. They were slow to do this, in part because of the concern some Congregationalists had, that such bodies might infringe on the autonomy of their individual churches. It wasn't until about the middle of the 19th century that more formally organized bodies with By-laws and clergy and lay representatives from local Congregational churches in a given district were common.[15] Also, Congregationalism did not develop a continuing national denominational body until as late as 1871.[16]

--THE PUBLISHED MINUTES OF THE MEETING--

The minutes of the 1810 annual meeting of the General Association of Massachusetts Proper, from which the following selections were taken, were published in *The Panoplist and Missionary Magazine United*, No. 2., July, 1810, Vol. III, 88-90. That meeting was held in Bradford, Massachusetts at the First Church of Christ, Bradford and Bradford Academy from Wednesday, June 27 to Friday, June 29.

It's worth noting that there was a revival in this Bradford church in 1806, the same year the Haystack Prayer Meeting took place in Williamstown, Massachusetts. That 1806 Bradford revival renewed the Bradford church and transformed its minister, Rev. Jonathan Allen. Others converted in that revival were Harriet Atwood and Ann Haseltine, the future wives, respectively, of ABCFM missionaries Samuel Newell and Adoniram Judson.[17]

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 27, 1810 -- 9 O'CLOCK A.M.
BRADFORD ACADEMY

The meeting was opened in the academy.
The Rev. Dr. Cutler was chosen Moderator, the Rev. Samuel Worcester, Scribe, and the

Rev. Thomas Snell, Assistant Scribe.

The Throne of Grace was addressed in prayer by the Moderator.

The Rev. Samuel Spring, D.D. Delegate from the General Association of Massachusetts Proper to the General Association of Connecticut, the Rev. Professors of the Divinity College, the Rev. Dr. Pearson, late Professor, and the Rev. Messrs. Morrison and Dana of the Presbyterian Communion were admitted to an honorary sitting.....

THURSDAY, JUNE 28, 1810 -- 2 P.M.
FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST, BRADFORD

Met according to adjournment.

Narratives were given of the state of the churches and of religion...

Four young gentlemen, members of the Divinity College, were introduced, and presented the following paper.

"The Undersigned, members of the Divinity College, respectfully request the attention of their Rev. Fathers, convened in the General Association at Bradford, to the following ***statement*** *and inquiries.*

"They beg leave to ***state****, that their minds have been long impressed with the duty and importance of personally attempting a mission to the heathen that the impressions on their minds have induced a serious, and they trust, a prayerful consideration of the subject in its various attitudes, particularly in relation to the probable success and the difficulties, attending such an attempt; and that, after examining all the information which they can obtain, they consider themselves as devoted to this work for life, whenever God, in his providence shall open the way.*

"They now offer the following ***inquiries****; on which they solicit the opinion and advice of this Association. Whether, with their present views and feelings, they ought to renounce the object of missions, as either visionary or impracticable; if not, whether they ought to direct their attention to the eastern, or the western world; whether they may expect patronage and support from a Missionary Society in this country, or must commit themselves to the direction of a European Society; and what preparatory measures they ought to take previous to actual engagement?*

"The undersigned, feeling their youth and inexperience, look up to their fathers in the church, and respectfully solicit their advice, direction, and prayers.

ADONIRAM JUDSON, Jun.
SAMUEL NOTT, Jun.
SAMUEL J. MILLS
SAMUEL NEWELL

After hearing from the young gentlemen some more particular account of the state of their

minds, and their views, relative to the subject offered to consideration, the business was committed to the Rev. Messrs. Spring, Worcester, and Hale.

4 o'clock. Adjourned for public worship....

FRIDAY, JUNE 29, 1810 -- 7 O'CLOCK A.M.
FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST, BRADFORD

Met according to adjournment.....

The Committee, on the subject of Foreign Missions, made the following report, which was unanimously accepted.

"The Committee, to whom was referred the request of the young gentlemen, members of the Divinity College, for advice relative to missions to the heathen, beg leave to submit the following report.

The object of missions to the heathen, cannot but be regarded, by the friends of the Redeemer, as vastly interesting and important. It deserves the most serious attention of all who wish well to the best interests of mankind, and especially of those, who devote themselves to the service of God in the kingdom of his Son, under the impression of the special direction, "Go yet into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature." The state of their minds, modestly expressed by the theological Students, who have presented themselves before this body, and the testimonies received respecting them, are such as deeply to impress the conviction, that they ought not "to renounce the object of missions," but sacredly to cherish "their present views," in relation to that object: and it is submitted whether the peculiar and abiding impressions, by which they are influenced, ought not to be gratefully recognized, as a Divine imitation of something good and great in relation to the propagation of the Gospel, and calling for correspondent attention and exertions.

Therefore,

Voted, that there be instituted by this General Association, a Board of Commissioners for foreign Missions, for the purpose of devising ways and means, and adopting and prosecuting measures, for promoting the spread of the Gospel in heathen lands.

Voted, That the said Board of Commissioners consist of nine members, all of them in the first instance, chosen by this Association; and afterwards annually, five of them by this Body, and four of them by the General Association of Connecticut. Provided, however, that, if the General Association of Connecticut do not choose to unite in this object, that annual election of all the Commissioners shall be by this General Association.

It is understood that the Board of Commissioners, here contemplated, will adopt their own form of organization, and their own rules and regulations.

Voted, That, fervently commending them to the grace of God, we advise the young

gentlemen, whose request is before us, in the way of earnest prayer and diligent attention to suitable studies and means of information, and putting themselves under the patronage and direction of the Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, humbly to wait the openings and guidance of Providence in respect to their great and excellent design."

Pursuant to the report of the Committee, the Association proceeded to institute a Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and the following gentlemen were chosen; His Excellency John Treadwell, Esq. Rev. Dr. Timothy Dwight, Gen. Jedediah Huntington, and Rev Calvin Chapin, of Connecticut; Rev. Dr. Joseph Lyman, Rev. Dr. Samuel Spring, William Bartlett, Esq. Rev. Samuel Worcester, and Dea. Samuel H. Walley, of Massachusetts.

Voted, That the gentlemen of the Commission, belonging to Newburyport, Salem, and Boston, consult with the other members, for the purpose of appointing a time and place for the first meeting of the Board.....

M. CUTLER, *Moderator*
Attest, Sam'l Worcester, *Scribe*

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--THOSE LISTED AS PRESENT OR NOTED AT THIS MEETING--

Years later, it was reported that in addition to the seminary students at this meeting, *"the voting members were twenty-one, and the honorary members seven--or twenty-eight in all. But besides there were a large number of clergymen of the vicinity, and some from a distance. There were laymen, also..."*[18]

1. THE ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY STUDENTS

Name---Age---College and graduation year
Andover Theological Seminary graduation year

Adoniram Judson, Jr. -- 21, Brown 1807, Andover 1810.

Samuel Nott, Jr. -- 21, Union 1808, Andover 1810.

Samuel John Mills, Jr. -- 27, Williams 1809, Andover 1812.

Samuel Newell – 24, Harvard 1807, Andover 1810.

THE ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY STUDENTS
AVERAGE AGE = 23
COLLEGES: Brown (1), Harvard (1), Union (1), Williams (1)

2. THE TWENTY-ONE VOTING MEMBERS

Name---Age---Ministers' Association represented or position held
College and graduation year---Ordination year--Church serving
Church's modern descendant---County located in today

Rev. Levi White -- 39, Berkshire Association, Dartmouth 1796, ord 1798, Sandisfield, Extinct, Berkshire County.

Rev. Nathaniel Turner -- 38, Berkshire Association, Williams 1798, ord 1799, Second in New Marlboro, United Church of New Marlborough, Berkshire County.

Rev. Benjamin Ruggles Woodbridge – 35, Mountain Association, Dartmouth 1795, ord. 1799, Norwich, First Congregational Church of Huntington, Hampshire County.

Rev. John Emerson -- 64, Northern Hampshire Association, Harvard 1764, ord 1769, Conway, United Church of Conway, Franklin County.

Rev. Rufus Wells -- 66, Central Hampshire Association, Harvard 1764, ord 1771, Whately, Congregational Church of Whately, Franklin County.

Rev. Vinson Gould -- 36, Central Hampshire Association, Williams 1797, ord 1801, Southampton, First Congregational Church of Southampton, Hampshire County.

Rev. John Keep -- 29, Southern Hampshire Association, Yale 1802, ord 1805, Blandford, First Congregational Church of Blandford, Hampden County. [He died in 1870 and was the last surviving founder of the ABCFM.]

Rev. Thomas Snell – 35, Brookfield Association, Dartmouth 1795, ord 1798, Second in Brookfield, First Congregational Church of North Brookfield, Worcester County.

Rev. Titus Theodore Barton -- 44, Worcester South Association, Dartmouth 1790, ord 1792, Fitchburg, Calvinistic Congregational Church of Fitchburg, Worcester County.

Rev. Joseph Goffe -- 43, Worcester South Association, Dartmouth 1791, ord 1794, Second in Sutton, First Congregational Church of Millbury, Worcester County.

Rev. Humphrey Clark Perley -- 48, Haverhill Association, Dartmouth 1791, ord 1795, Methuen, First Church of Methuen, Essex County.

Rev. Samuel Mead -- 45; Haverhill Association, Brown 1788, likely ord 1794; Second West in Amesbury; Pilgrim Congregational of Merrimac, UCC; Essex County.

Rev. Ebenezer Dutch -- 58, Essex Middle Association, Brown 1776, ord 1779, Second East in Bradford, Orthodox Congregational Church of Groveland, Essex County.

Rev. Thomas Holt -- 47; Essex Middle Association; Yale 1784; ord 1789; Second in Ipswich [Chebacco]; First Congregational Church of Essex, UCC; Essex County**.**

Rev. Manasseh Cutler, L. L. D. -- 68, Salem and Vicinity Association, Yale 1765, ord 1771, Hamilton, First Congregational Church of Hamilton, Essex County.

Rev. Samuel Worcester -- 39, Salem and Vicinity Association, Dartmouth 1795, ord 1797, Third in Salem, Tabernacle Church of Salem, Essex County.

Rev. Enoch Hale -- 56, General Association of Massachusetts Proper Secretary, Yale 1773, ord 1779, Westhampton, Congregational Church of Westhampton, Hampshire County.

Rev. Jonathan Allen -- about 61, host minister at 1810 annual meeting site; Harvard 1774; ord 1781; Bradford; First Church of Christ, Bradford; Essex County.

Rev. Salmon Cone -- 43, Delegate from the General Association of Connecticut, Yale 1789, ord 1792, Colchester, First Church of Christ in Colchester, New London County.

Rev. Evan Johns -- about 47 [born Wales], Delegate from the General Association of Connecticut, unknown, ord England?, Berlin, Berlin Congregational Church, Hartford County.

Rev. Samuel Wood -- 58, Delegate from the General Association of New Hampshire, Dartmouth 1779, ord 1781, East in Boscawen, United Church of Boscawen, Merrimack County.

THE TWENTY-ONE VOTING MEMBERS
AVERAGE AGE = about 47
COLLEGES: Brown (2), Dartmouth (8), Harvard (3), Williams (2), Yale (5), Unknown (1)
AGE GROUPS: 40's (7), 30's (6), 60's (4), 50's (3), 20's (1)

3. THE SEVEN HONORARY MEMBERS

Rev. Samuel Spring, D.D. -- 64, GAMP delegate to the General Association of Connecticut, Princeton 1771, ord 1777, North Congregational in Newburyport, Central

Congregational Church of Newburyport, Essex County.

Three Rev. Professors of the Divinity College -- identities not yet determined.

Rev. Eliphalet Pearson, L.L.D. -- 58, Former professor of Andover Theological Seminary, Harvard 1773, ord 1808, Retired.

Rev. William Morrison -- about 62 [born Scotland], Delegate from the Presbyterian Communion, unknown, ord 1783, Presbyterian Church in Londonderry, New Hampshire.

Rev. Daniel Dana --38, Delegate from the Presbyterian Communion; Dartmouth 1788, ord 1794; Presbyterian Church in Newburyport, Essex County.

4. LAYMAN PRESENT BUT NOT OFFICIALLY LISTED

Mr. Jeremiah Evarts, Esq. -- 29, Editor of the Panoplist, Yale 1802.

5. THE NINE FIRST COMMISSIONERS OF THE ABCFM

His Excellency John Treadwell, Esq.-- 64, Governor of Connecticut, Connecticut lawyer and judge, Yale 1767, elected delegate to the Continental Congress in the 1780's.

Rev. Dr. Timothy Dwight -- 58, President of Yale College**,** Yale 1769, ord 1783.

General Jedediah Huntington -- 66; Customs Inspector in New London, Connecticut; Harvard 1763; noted Revolutionary War officer.

Rev. Calvin Chapin – 46, Yale 1788, ord 1794, Rocky Hill Congregational Church, Hartford County, Connecticut.

Rev. Joseph Lyman D.D. -- 61**,** Yale 1767, ord 1772, Hatfield Congregational Church, Hampshire County, Massachusetts**.**

Rev. Dr. Samuel Spring [listed above as an honorary member of the GAMP]

William Bartlett, Esq. -- 62, merchant and philanthropist, a major contributor to Andover Theological Seminary and other religious and moral causes.

Rev. Samuel Worcester [listed above as a voting member of the GAMP]

Deacon Samuel Hall Walley – 32, Trustee of Andover Theological Seminary**,** Deacon of

Federal Street Church in Boston, now Arlington Street Unitarian.

THE NINE FIRST COMMISSIONERS OF THE ABCFM
AVERAGE AGE = 54
COLLEGES: Dartmouth (1), Harvard (1), Princeton (1), Yale (4)
Presently Unknown/None (2)

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1847 ADDRESS BY THE REV. CALVIN CHAPIN, D.D.
UPON HIS RETIREMENT FROM THE ROCKY HILL CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH

...I have counted my years of service as a trustee of the Missionary Society of Connecticut among my useful and my honored assignments...

It was therefore a natural development that I partook of the formation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. I was honored to be selected recording secretary, which office I held for thirty-two years. While I did not have any thunderbolt revelation of divine Providence as did our brothers in Williamstown who listened to God under the haystack, I did have the firm conviction that I could further the usefulness of the gospel through missionary support. For I am certain that our God is a God of all nations, and even as our tongue tied brother from the Association would have it, God of Providence as well.[19]

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ENDNOTES

1. E. C. Tracy, *Memoir of the Life of Jeremiah Evarts, Esq., Late Corresponding Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1845), 97 footnote.

2. "Concern for the Salvation of the Heathen," *The Panoplist and Missionary Magazine* United, No. 12, May, 1810, Vol. II, 544-546. Adoniram Judson was identified as the author of this anonymous article years later, by Rev. Samuel M. Worcester in his *Discourse at the Semi-Centennial Anniversary of the Institution of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions: At Bradford, Mass., June 20, 1860* (Boston: T. R. Marvin & Son), 1860, 17.

3. E. E. Strong, "The Founding of the American Board," *The Missionary Herald*, June 1910, Volume CVI, Number 6, 247.

4. Samuel M. Worcester, 21.

5. It has been said that those present at this meeting were: the Andover students who were determined to serve as foreign missionaries; Jeremiah Evarts; Rev. John Keep; Rev. Edward Dorr Griffin; Rev. F. Reynolds of Wilmington, MA; Rev. Sanborn of Reading, MA; Dr. Thomas Snell; Dr. Samuel Spring; Dr. Moses Stuart; and Dr. Samuel Worcester. Samuel Newell presented the views of the students to the group. *Memorial Volume of the First Fifty Years of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1862) 5th ed., 49-50; Joseph Tracy, *History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Compiled Chiefly from the Published and Unpublished Documents of the Board* (New York: M. W. Dodd, 1842), 24-25.

6. Joseph Tracy, 25; William E. Strong, *The Story of the American Board: An Account of the First Hundred Years of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1910), 4.

7. Samuel M. Worcester, 20.

8. *Memorial Volume*, 50. His reference apparently was to II Samuel 5:24:

> *"When thou hearest the sound of a going in the tops of the mulberry trees, that then thou shall bestir thyself: for then shall the Lord go out before thee, to smite the host of the Philistines.*"

This rustling in the trees is said to be reminiscent of an army marching by and also a sign that God would personally lead David's army to victory. Christian Answers Network, 29 May 2006 <www.christiananswers.net/dictionary/mulberry.html>.

9. Joseph Tracy, 26.

10. William E. Strong, 5.

11. *Memorial Volume*, 51.

12. *Memorial Volume*, 54.

13. That table is presently in the greeting area outside the offices of Wider Church Ministries of the United Church of Christ in Cleveland, Ohio. The table's significance is explained to those who tour the building.

14. "Minutes of the First Annual Meeting," *First Ten Annual Reports of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions with Other Documents of the Board* (Boston: 1834), 11; "Recollections of the Rev. Noah Porter, D.D.," *Memorial Volume*, 60-61; William E. Strong, 4.

15. von Rohr, John, *The Shaping of American Congregationalism: 1620-1957* (Cleveland: The Pilgrim Press, 1992), 294-295.

16. Gaius Glenn Atkins and Frederick L. Fagley note that,

> *"There was nothing in the constitution of the Massachusetts Association to authorize this action, taken in spite of the lack of authority to meet an emergency...The influence of the opposition to this emergency legislation [creating the ABCFM] was widespread, and the fact that a state conference had taken action without constitutional provision was used again and again to thwart any move toward development of a national organization, even though the missionary agency itself tended to become a common bond."*

Atkins and Fagley also note the following criticism which Dr. Alonzo H. Quint made in 1859 regarding the way in which the ABCFM was formed. From the mid to late 1800's, Quint was a noted Congregational minister and respected authority on Congregational polity. As he wrote in the *Congregational Year Book, 1859*, 49:

> *"No church or section of churches has a right to originate and determine a movement concerning, or involving the whole body of churches. Such cases all the churches are the parties to consider...[and there is] far less right by merely clerical bodies, in which the churches had no voice whatever. So...the method by which the churches were made morally tributary to the A.B.C.F.M., was a stretch of power on the part of the Massachusetts General Association."*

Gaius Glenn Atkins and Frederick L. Fagley, *History of American Congregationalism* (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1942), 194-195.

17. J. D. Kingsbury, *Memorial History of Bradford, Mass. From the Earliest Period to the Close of 1882* (Haverhill, Mass: C. C. Morse & Son, 1883), 108-112.

18. Samuel M. Worcester, 22.

19. Interpreted by James A. Christopher, D. Min. 2002, 24 March 2006 <http://rhccucc.org/sermon/jc-021002.html>.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE RISE OF FOREIGN MISSIONS IN AMERICA: A CHRONOLOGY THROUGH 1812

--SOME MAJOR ABCFM SOURCES–

Joseph Tracy, *History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Compiled Chiefly from the Published and Unpublished Documents of the Board* (New York: M. W. Dodd, 1842).

Memorial Volume of the First Fifty Years of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 5th ed. (Boston: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1862).

Commemorative Volume in Connection with the Seventy-fifth Anniversary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Held in Boston, October 13-16, 1885 (Boston: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1885).

William E. Strong, *The Story of the American Board: An Account of the First Hundred Years of the American Board of Commissioners For Foreign Missions* (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1910).

Fred Field Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses: An Interpretation of the History of the American Board 1810-1960*. (Boston: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1959).

Fred Field Goodsell, *They Lived Their Faith: An Almanac of Faith, Hope and Love* (Boston: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1961).

> "The young churches of Asia, Africa, and the Pacific islands are in a very real sense the fruits of the ministry of John Eliot and Thomas Mayhew in Massachusetts."
> *R. Pierce Beaver, Pioneers in Mission, 11.*

1643 Missionary work with Native Americans on Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket is begun by Rev. Thomas Mayhew Jr. and is continued through five generations of his family.[1]

1646 Rev. John Eliot begins preaching to Native Americans outside Boston in their own language. By the time of King Philip's War in 1675, fourteen communities of "Praying Indians" have been formed with a total population of about 4,000 residents.[2]

1732 Moravians in Europe send missionaries to the Danish West India Islands where they form six settlements. Within just twenty-eight years they have sent their missionaries to twenty-eight countries.[3]

1747 Building on a theme first presented by some Scottish ministers, Rev. Jonathan Edwards publishes *An Humble Attempt to Promote Explicit Agreement and Visible Union among God's People in Extraordinary Prayer for the Revival of Religion, and the Advancement of Christ's Kingdom on Earth, Pursuant to Scripture Promises, and Prophecies Concerning the Last Time*. In this book, Edwards calls upon Christians to fulfill their Christian duty of joining together in prayer for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the Church, so it is revived and the conversion of all humanity and the establishment of Christ's Kingdom on earth will finally take place. This book helps lay the groundwork for future calls for world evangelization. It also gives rise to the *Monthly Concert of Prayer for Missions,* practiced by many 19th century American Congregational churches. Such monthly "concerts" prove to be a significant way of publicizing foreign mission work and raising funds for it.[4]

1773 Rev. Samuel Hopkins of Newport, Rhode Island, publishes *An Inquiry into the Nature of True Holiness,* to improve on the influential New England Theology of his close friend, Rev. Jonathan Edwards. Hopkins' modification of Edwards' theology emphasizes the performance of selfless deeds of "disinterested benevolence" for God and humankind. Its focus on conducting ethical acts as an expression of one's faith helps set the stage for the many social reform organizations, including missionary societies, which will emerge in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.[5]

--Putting "disinterested benevolence" into action, Rev. Samuel Hopkins joins Rev. Ezra Stiles in forming the African Education Society. Its goal is to send free African Americans as missionaries to Western Africa. But the beginning of the Revolutionary War in 1775 and other factors prevent the society from fulfilling its purpose.[6]

1783 Samuel John Mills, Jr. is born on April 21 in Torringford, Connecticut to Rev. Samuel John Mills Sr. and his wife Esther. Samuel is their seventh child and the youngest of their four sons. Esther consecrates her young son Samuel to be a missionary when he grows up. However, typical of her times, she expects him to serve as a home missionary, not as a foreign missionary.[7]

--The Treaty of Paris is signed on September 3 giving unconditional independence to America and bringing the Revolutionary War to an end.

1790's The Second Great Awakening begins. It focuses on revivals, conversion experiences, charitable acts of "disinterested benevolence" to benefit others, and spreading the Protestant faith to provide the "means" God requires of humans for the salvation of humankind and the coming of God's Kingdom. Many charitable organizations and missionary societies are formed during this period which lasts into the 1820's.

1792 The Baptist Missionary Society is formed on October 2 in England for the "propagation of the Gospel among the Heathen," in response to Baptist Rev. William Carey's urging and along the lines recommended in his 1791 book, *An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians, to use means for the Conversion of the Heathens in which the Religious State of the Different Nations of the World, the Success of Former Undertakings, and the Practicability of Further Undertakings, are Considered*. Carey has been called the "Father of the Modern Missionary Movement."[8]

1793 Sponsored by the Baptist Missionary Society of England, William Carey and John Thomas, a fellow English Baptist, begin their missionary work in India. In 1706, long before Carey arrived in India, German Luther Pietists had begun missionary work in the Danish colony of Tranquebar in southeastern India.[9]

1795 Letters to England from William Carey in India lead to the formation of the Missionary Society of London in England by Independents, Anglicans, Presbyterians, and others. This society seeks to be interdenominational in scope. Its constitution states, *"The design is not to send Presbyterianism, Independency, Episcopacy, or any other form of church order and government...but the glorious Gospel of the blessed God to the heathen."* In 1818 this organization is renamed the London Missionary Society. Its first foreign missionaries are sent to Tahiti in 1796. Its membership and orientation eventually become largely Congregational.[10]

1798 The Missionary Society of Connecticut is formed and sends out its first missionaries to tour Vermont, New York, and Pennsylvania**.** Its purpose is to "*christianize the Heathen in North America, and to support and promote Christian knowledge in the new settlements within the United States."*[11]

1799 The Massachusetts Missionary Society is formed and in 1801 sends its first missionaries out to tour New York, Maine, and Vermont**.** Its object is *"to diffuse the knowledge of the Gospel among the Heathens, as well as other people in the remote part of our country, where Christ is seldom, or never preached."*[12]

1801 The Plan of Union is adopted by the General Association of Connecticut and the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Churches in order to promote cooperation and prevent duplication of efforts by Congregationalists and Presbyterians in new frontier settlements in America. This same spirit of cooperating with another Calvinist-oriented denomination

also becomes evident in the work of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions after its incorporation in 1812.[13]

--While walking down a road, Samuel J. Mills, Jr. has a conversion experience in which he has a new vision of God's goodness and mercy. The following year, reminiscent of Elisha who received God's call while plowing a field,[14] Mills has a spiritual experience while plowing a Connecticut field, which leads him to commit his life to being a foreign missionary.[15]

--The New Hampshire Missionary Society is formed for home missionary work. It's first missionaries are sent on tour "chiefly among the northern frontier settlements" of New Hampshire and afterwards to western New York.[16]

1802/3 The General Association of Massachusetts Proper is formed as a state-wide Congregational ministers' group. Its constitution refers to the Calvinistic *Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism* as an important standard of the faith of its members.[17]

1804 The Massachusetts Missionary Society changes its constitution to include diffusing the gospel "through more distant regions of the earth," but does not follow through on that.[18]

1805 The August edition of the *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine* contains an article from England's Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge which describes Protestant mission work which has been going on in the East Indies.[19]

1806 The February edition of the *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine* contains a report of the Trustees of the Missionary Society of Connecticut, which expresses approval of the creation of new missionary societies to send the gospel to heathen lands or other nations where needed.[20]

--The February edition of the *CEM* also contains an article which maintains that the power of Christ's presence is particularly to be found in the recent emergence of missionary societies and in their missionaries to the heathen.[21]

--The April edition of the *CEM* contains two appeals for American Christians of all denominations, to support the ongoing efforts of William Carey and his fellow English Baptist missionaries in Serampore and Bengal, India, to translate, print, and distribute the Holy Bible throughout India, in the seven major languages spoken there.[22]

--The June edition of the *Massachusetts Missionary Magazine* contains an appeal for the support of William Carey's Bible translation work, similar to that found in the April edition of the *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine*. It also contains an April 21, 1806 report of the Boston Association of Ministers which discusses that appeal and recommends it to the ministers and churches of the Commonwealth.[23]

THE HAYSTACK PRAYER MEETING

The Haystack Prayer Meeting takes place in late July or early August of 1806 at a haystack in Sloan's meadow, near Williams College. Led by Samuel Mills, Jr., all but one of the Williams College students present agree to send the gospel to Asia. Participants are:

Samuel John Mills, Jr. (1783 - 1818) **James Richards, Jr.** (1784 - 1822)
Francis Le Baron Robbins (1787 - 1850) **Byram Green** (1786 - 1865)
Harvey Loomis (1786 - 1825)

1808 Samuel Mills Jr. and four other Williams College students form a secret society called the Brethren at Williams on September 7. This organization has sometimes been called the "First Foreign Missionary Society in America." Their By-laws contain the following requirements:

"Article II. *The object of this Society shall be to effect in the persons of its members a mission, or missions, to the heathen.*
Article IV. *The existence of this Society shall be kept secret.*
Article VI. *Each member...shall hold himself in readiness to go on a mission when and where duty may call."*[24]

1810 Samuel Mills enters Andover Theological Seminary where he meets some other Brethren members who had graduated from Williams College before him. The Brethren organization and its records are transferred to Andover and some other Andover students now join it, including Adoniram Judson. The Brethren continues to function at ATS at least until 1870, though it drops its secrecy in 1854.[25]

1811 About January 1 the ABCFM sends Adoniram Judson to the London Missionary Society to see if the two societies can in some way co-sponsor Judson and the other three

THE AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS

The Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions is formed by unanimous vote of the General Association of Massachusetts Proper on June 29, 1810 at their Annual Meeting, held at the First Church of Christ, Bradford in Massachusetts. At their first meeting, held in Farmington, Connecticut on September 5, the five Commissioners present adopt a constitution which renames the organization the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

Andover students ready to serve as foreign missionaries. Judson's ship is captured by a French ship and is imprisoned briefly, but he eventually does meet with LMS leaders in England. Judson returns to America in August with appointments from the LMS for himself and his colleagues to serve as their missionaries, but not with an offer for joint sponsorship with the ABCFM. This spurs the ABCFM to sponsor the students by itself alone and to make greater efforts to raise the money that will require.[26]

--The Society of Inquiry on the Subject of Missions is formed at Andover Theological Seminary on January 8 and continues to function there at least through 1920, though its name is eventually changed to the Society of Inquiry Respecting Missions. This society is formed to *"inquire into the state of the Heathen; the duty and importance of missionary labors, the best manner of conducting missions, and the most eligible place for their establishment."* This organization is not secret. Over the years it is duplicated on numerous other campuses. For half a century, these societies inspire both interest in foreign missions and students to volunteer to serve as foreign missionaries.[27]

--Mary Norris dies on March 21, leaving $30,000 in her will to the ABCFM. Her late husband, the Hon. John Norris, had been a successful Salem merchant, a member of Massachusetts' Senate, and a founder of Andover Theological Seminary. Norris relatives contest the will in court. Finally, in April of 1815, after the ABCFM is incorporated, the court rules in the ABCFM's favor and it is able to use that money.[28]

--The ABCFM holds its annual meeting on September 18 in Worcester, Massachusetts. At this meeting it votes to sponsor Mills, Judson, Nott, and Newell as foreign missionaries. It determines that the salary for a married missionary will be $666.66 a year and $444.45 for a single missionary and "the outfit of each be equal to one year's salary."[29]

--This year in Boston, the first auxiliary organization is formed to help raise funds to support the ABCFM's foreign mission work. By the year 1818 about five hundred such auxiliary groups are formed.[30]

1812 The ABCFM's effort to send four missionaries overseas is put into high gear, when ship passage to India is secured at Philadelphia. It is an uncertain period. American shipping has suffered at times from British harassment on the seas and embargoes. And a war with England now seems imminent. No one knows when the ABCFM's next opportunity will be, if this one is not taken. By January 27, the ABCFM has raised only about 1/4 of what it needs to send its missionaries overseas, but it sets February 6 as the date of their ordinations, trusting that God will provide. Within days of the ordination, Luther Rice is added as a fifth ABCFM missionary. The ABCFM does not select an exact location for the new mission these missionaries will set up in India. Rather, that decision is left to "the determination of Providence."[31]

--Three of the five young men to be ordained on February 6 hurriedly marry. Adoniram Judson weds Ann Haseltine of Bradford on February 5. Samuel Nott marries Rosanna Peack on February 8. Samuel Newell and Harriet Atwood are married about then as well. The ABCFM considers these wives to be "assistant missionaries." It is recognized that they and their husbands are making great personal sacrifices to serve abroad.[32]

--A special farewell service for Ann Haseltine and Harriet Atwood is held on the evening of February 5 at a Congregational church in Haverhill. Ann's minister from the First Church of Christ in Bradford, Rev. Jonathan Allen, preaches the sermon. In that sermon, Rev. Allen quotes a Dr. Buchanan, who wrote that all women, including Hindoo and Mahomedan women, are, "accounted by the men an inferior race, and, in general, are confined to the house for life, like irrational creatures." Rev. Allen then gives this charge to the two young women:

> *It will be your business, my dear children, to teach these women, to whom your husbands can have but little, or no access...Go, and if possible, raise their character to the dignity of rational beings, and to the rank of christians in a christian land. Teach them to realize, that they are not an inferior race of creatures; but stand upon a par with men. Teach them that they have immortal souls, and are no longer to burn themselves, in the same fire, with the bodies of their departed husbands. Go, bring them from their cloisters into the assemblies of the saints. Teach them to accept of Christ as their Savior, and to enjoy the privileges of the children of God.*

Rev. Allen concludes the service with a hymn he wrote for the occasion. It begins, "Go, ye heralds of salvation; Go, and preach in heathen lands.*"* According to R. Pierce Beaver, this likely is the first foreign missionary hymn written in America.[33]

FIRST ABCFM MISSIONARIES ORDAINED

Five Andover Theological Seminary graduates are examined and ordained for missionary service at the Tabernacle Church in Salem, Massachusetts on February 6, 1812.

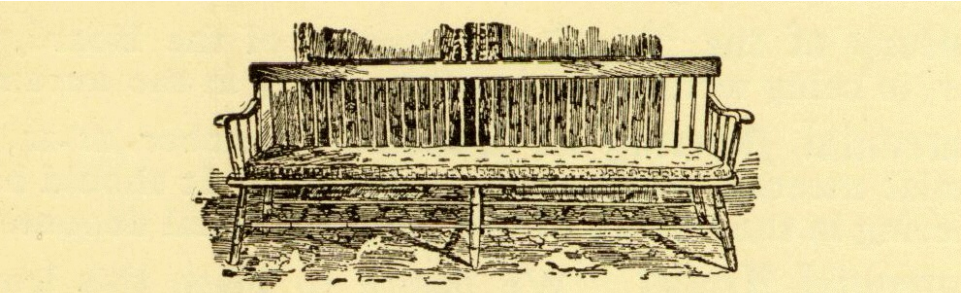
ATS Class of 1810:

Gordon Hall (1784-1826) --- **Samuel Newell** (1785-1821)

Samuel Nott, Jr. (1787-1869) --- **Adoniram Judson** (1788-1850)

ATS Class of 1811:

Luther Rice (1783-1873)



Settee upon which the first missionaries sat when ordained in the Tabernacle Church, Salem, Mass., in 1812.

Sermon Delivered at the February 6, 1812 Ordination of the Missionaries to the Heathen in Asia by Leonard Woods, D. D.[34]

The Rev. Dr. Woods is the first professor of theology at Andover Theological Seminary. In this sermon which he delivers at the Tabernacle Church in Salem, Massachusetts, Woods describes the work the five young missionaries are about to embark on as being "the cause of divine love...the noblest and most honorable work on earth." Further, he says that compared to taking a part "in this blessed work" offered to these missionaries by the God of love, "nothing else is worth living for." Dr. Woods says in his sermon:

> *The Christian has a heart to feel for his fellow creatures. He takes into account their temporal comfort and endeavors to promote it; --their temporal wants and sufferings, and does what in him lies to relieve them. But, when their spiritual interest is before him; when he contemplates the value of their souls, and the prospect which the gospel opens of immortal happiness in the world to come; his bowels of compassion are moved; his tenderest affections kindled; pure and heavenly love pervades and warms his soul. He longs for the eternal felicity of his kindred and friends, of his country and the world. His hearts desire and prayer to God is, that* ***all men may be saved****, — that all beings may forsake their evil ways, and turn to the Lord...*
>
> *With this holy affection reigning in his heart, the fervent, devoted Christian presents himself a living sacrifice unto God; and counts it a privilege to do and to suffer any thing for the advancement of his cause...While there is a nation or tribe under heaven not subdued to Christ; the enlightened, fervent Christian cannot rest...*
>
> *Has not God taught you to love your neighbor as yourselves? See the poor, degraded Africans. See the thousands of children sacrificed in the Ganges. See the throngs of miserable pilgrims pressing forward to devote themselves to the impure and sanguinary worship of Moloch.* ***The souls of all these are as precious as your own.****"*

The sermon expounds upon six motives which Woods presents, for seeking the conversion of all people at this time. Briefly, those motives are:

1. *"The worth of souls...in every human being you see a brother or a sister."*

2. There is the "*plenteousness of the provision which Christ has made"* for the salvation of all mankind and *"[God] wills that all men should be saved."*

3. Christians are bound *'always even to the end of the world...'* to obey *"the command of our Lord; -- 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature.'"*

4. Christians are to imitate the missionary efforts, successes, and sacrifices of the Apostles and of more recent Christian missionaries overseas and in America.

5. It is *"the peculiar design of Christianity...to be a universal religion...the doctrines of Christianity are applicable to all men; because all have the same nature, and stand in the same relation to God and to one another...Why should we withhold such a religion from the unnumbered millions who people the eastern world?"*

6. There are signs, in accordance with prophecy, that the divine providence is presently at work, in the multiplication of *"Bible Societies in Great Britain and America"* and their successes in distributing the Holy Bible in foreign tongues, in the increase of *"facilities for the pious education of youth,"* and in the recent revivals of religion in some colleges and many churches and societies in America. Even *"current revolutions and convulsions, and the desolating wars of the present day"* are such signs. *"The Lord shook all nations just before the Desire of all nations came. He has arisen now to shake terribly the earth; and we expect the spiritual coming of Christ, and the millennial glory of the church, will soon follow."*

++++++++++

1812 Samuel Mills is not among the missionaries ordained at Salem on February 6 because it is felt he will better serve the cause of missions by working with churches in America to support it. Following his graduation from Andover Theological Seminary this year, Mills and a fellow graduate begin to make initial missionary surveys of the Mississippi Valley down to New Orleans. They are sponsored by the Missionary Society of Connecticut and the Massachusetts Missionary Society.[35]

--The ships the missionaries are traveling on to Calcutta, India are delayed in their departures. On February 19, the Judsons and the Newells sail on the Caravan from Salem, Massachusetts. They arrive in Calcutta on June 17. The Notts, Gordon Hall, and Luther Rice finally set sail on the ship Harmony from Philadelphia (Delaware Cape) on February 24. They arrive in Calcutta about August 8. Because the departures of their ships are delayed, the ABCFM is able to raise a total of $6,000 to support their missionaries, which

is even more than needed.[36]

--In April an embargo keeps the ships in Salem, Massachusetts from leaving their port for foreign destinations. The first ship from Salem to venture to India for trade was the "Atlantic" in 1788.[37]

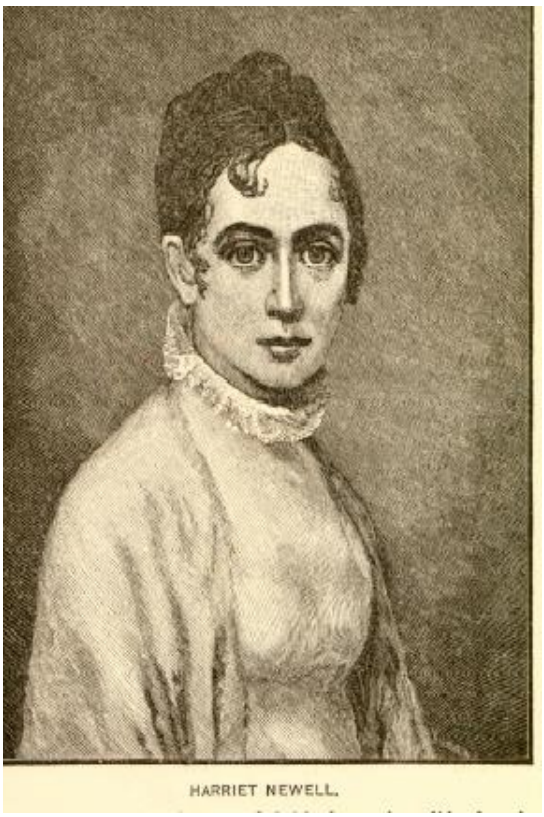
--On June 18 the War of 1812 between the United States and Great Britain begins.

--The bequest of Mary Norris and legal challenges to it, likely are factors which lead the ABCFM to seek to be incorporated by the Massachusetts Legislature. However, the ABCFM's application is strongly opposed. Some members of the Legislature do not sympathize with Trinitarian Congregational beliefs. Also, there are concerns about sending money out of the country as war with Great Britain seems imminent. It's reported that one opponent complained on the Senate floor that incorporation of the ABCFM would provide "the means of exporting religion whereas there was none to spare among ourselves." To that, someone else is said to have replied, that "religion was a commodity of which the more we exported the more we had remaining." The Legislature finally votes to incorporate the ABCFM on June 20. This incorporation makes the ABCFM an independent body which determines its own membership. That allows it to become an interdenominational body. It is no longer responsible to two Congregational ministers' associations.[38]

--After the ABCFM missionaries arrive in Calcutta, the British East India Company which rules the region forces them to leave. That company is concerned that the missionaries' presence will disturb their trade. During their ocean voyage Adoniram Judson and his wife had come to believe that the New Testament calls for adult baptisms by immersion. Recognizing that this view is not in accordance with ABCFM instructions, Judson seeks counsel with the England Baptist missionaries in Serampore, India, and then announces his withdrawal from the ABCFM in a letter dated September 1. For the same reason, Luther Rice also withdraws. The Judsons eventually open a Baptist mission in Burma. Luther Rice returns to the United States to promote foreign missions among Baptist churches. These events lead to the creation of the General Missionary Convention of the Baptist Denomination in the United States of America, for Foreign Missions in 1814.[39]

--Compelled to leave Calcutta, Samuel Newell and his eighteen year old wife Harriet begin a voyage to the Isle of France, whose Governor seems interested in having missionaries serve there. This island is out of the jurisdiction of the East India Company. On October 8, Harriet Newell gives birth to a daughter who soon dies, on October 13. From this point on Harriet's health declines until she herself dies of consumption on November 30 at Port Louis. Newell is grief-stricken and very lonely because of the sudden loss of his infant daughter and wife. Yet, Harriet's death and sacrifice become a powerful influence back in the United States. A memoir of her life is compiled by Rev.

Dr. Leonard Woods, the same individual who preached the February 6 ordination sermon in Salem's Tabernacle Church.[40] Harriet's memoir is published in many editions and widely read. As Congregational historian Albert Dunning said of Harriet in 1894,


HARRIET NEWELL.

"The story of her brief life, and her devotion to the cause to which she gave it, kindled in this country an enthusiasm for missions which doubtless accomplished far more than she could have done if she had lived to do actual service in the field. Not only did money for the work flow freely into the treasury, but multitudes dated their conversion from the time of their reading the memoir of this missionary girl, and churches sprang into being from the story of her willing self-sacrifice."[41]

ENDNOTES

1. R. Pierce Beaver, ed. *Pioneers in Mission, the Early Missionary Ordination Sermons, Charges, and Instructions: A Source Book on the Rise of American Missions to the Heathen* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1966), 12.

2. Beaver, 12.

3. Paul E. Pierson, "Why Did the 1800s Explode with Missions?: The modern missionary movement has radically changed Christianity. What caused it?," *Christian History*, Issue 36; "A Concise History of the Moravians," *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine*, Vol. I, September 1800, No. 3, 82.

4. R. Pierce Beaver indicates that significant spiritual consequences of Edwards' book were: *"the stimulation of the world-wide vision, the focusing of attention on salvation history in time, the linking of mission with the eschaton, and giving the Christian disciple a share in God's own mission as his co-worker in some sense."* Beaver, 24; "Historical Sketch of the Monthly Concert," *Christian Spectator*, No. 8, 1826, 129-31.

5. Edwards maintained that the true virtue characteristic of regenerated Christians involved right affections, whereas Hopkins maintained that it involved right actions. For Edwards, true virtue is the benevolence (love) converted souls have for "Being in general" [God], which they perceive as beautiful and delight in. In contrast, Hopkins described true virtue as "disinterested benevolence," the love converted souls have for God and their fellow human beings, which leads converted souls to undertake selfless acts for those others. Edwards tended to emphasize passive contemplation and otherworldliness, whereas Hopkins emphasized ethical action in the world and self-sacrifice for others. Joseph A. Conforti, *Samuel Hopkins & The New Divinity Movement* (Grand Rapids: Christian University Press, 1981), 109-124.

6. Charles L. Chaney, *The Birth of Missions in America* (South Pasadena, California: William Carey Library, 1976), 182.

7. John H. Hewitt, *Williams College and Foreign Missions: Biographical Sketches of Williams College Men Who Have Rendered Special Service to the Cause of Foreign Missions* (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1914), 35; Thomas C. Richards, *Samuel J. Mills: Missionary Pathfinder, Pioneer and Promoter* (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1906),17-18.

8. Mark Galli, "The Man Who Wouldn't Give Up: No Matter How Great the Obstacles, William Carey Expected Great Things and Attempted Great Things," *Christian History*, Issue 36.

9. Mark, Galli, "The Man Who Wouldn't Give Up"; Paul E. Pierson, "Why Did the 1800s Explode with Missions?," 36; Daniel Jeyaraj, "The Trailblazer," *Christian History*, Summer 2005.

10. "London Missionary Society," School of Oriental and African Studies Library, Mundus: Gateway to Missionary Collections in the United Kingdom 1 Feb. 2006 <www.mundus.ac.uk/cats/4/251.htm>; Delavan Leonard, *A Hundred Years of Missions or The Story of Progress Since Carey's Beginning* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company, 1895), 83-88; Fred Field Goodsell, *They Lived Their Faith: An Almanac of Faith, Hope, and Love* (Boston: American Board of Commissioners For Foreign Missions, 1961), 56-57.

11. "Missionary Society of Connecticut," *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine*, Vol. I, July 1800, No. 1, 13-14.

12. "The Constitution of the Massachusetts Missionary Society," *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine*, Vol. I, March 1801, No. 9, 352.

13. Walker, History, 325.

14. I Kings 19:11-21.

15. Gardiner Spring, *Memoirs of the Rev. Samuel J. Mills, Late Missionary to the South Western Section of the United States, and Agent of the American Colonization Society, Deputed to Explore the Coast of Africa* (New York: New York Evangelical Missionary Society, 1820), 18-

19.

16. Letter from the Secretary of the New-Hampshire Missionary Society, to the Secretary of the Missionary Society of Connecticut, Hopkinton, Sept. 17, 1805, *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine*, Vol. VI, December, 1805, No. 6, 233.

17. The purpose of the General Association of Massachusetts Proper is,

> *"to promote brotherly intercourse and harmony, and our mutual animation, assistance and usefulness, as ministers of Christ; to obtain religious information relative to the state of our particular churches, and the general state of the christian church in this country and through the christian world; and to co-operate with similar institutions in the most eligible measures for building up the cause of truth and holiness."*

"1809 Minutes of the General Association of Massachusetts Proper," August 1809, *Panoplist*, Vol. II, New Series, 90.

18. Goodsell, *They Lived Their Faith*, 25.

19. "Abstract of the 1803 Annual Report of the SPCK," the *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine*, August 1805, 75-80. This article tells of the conversion of several thousands to Christianity, the formation of numerous churches and schools [one large enough to accommodate more than 1,000 children], and also some cruel hardships being faced by missionaries in that region.

20. "Narrative on the subject of Missions: and a Statement of the Funds of the Missionary Society of Connecticut, for the year 1805. Addressed by the Trustees of the Society, to the Ministers and People of the State," *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine* [published according to Act of Congress], Vol. VI, No.8, February, 1806, 281-292. This report expresses much satisfaction that,

> *"...the missionary spirit, which has prevailed of late, still continues and indeed increases. New institutions, both in Europe and America, are frequently formed, either to send the gospel to heathen lands, or diffuse a more general knowledge of it in countries which have been called Christian."*

The report names areas around the world, including the East Indies, where missions are already supported by missionary societies. The report reminds its readers, that through the history of the Church, God has stirred up human hearts in advance, to work, despite obstacles, for special causes which God intended to bring about. It then states,

> *"Is it not then reasonable to expect, from the zeal with which so many of God's people appear to be animated at the present day, and their uncommon efforts for the up building of Sion, that some glorious events in favor of the Church are about to take place?"*

This report of the Trustees, signed by Chairman John Treadwell, concludes with the hope,

> *"...that in every place incense may be offered unto [God] and a pure offering."*

It is to be noted that John Treadwell became one of the first Commissioners of the ABCFM.

21. "To the Editors of the Connecticut Evangelical Magazine [Thoughts on Matt. xxxvii. 20]*,"* *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine* (published according to Act of Congress), Vol. VI, No.8, February, 1806, 299-308. "Servus" maintains that Christ's promise, *"Lo, I am with you alway,"* is being fulfilled in their day. As he wrote:

> *"To what else but to the promised presence of Christ, the gracious influence of his Spirit on the hearts of men...can be ascribed the benevolence and hardiness of those good soldiers of Jesus Christ, the missionaries to the heathen, which enables them to encounter the perils of the ocean and the desert; of the savage beasts and savage men of the wilderness, to advance the kingdom of the Redeemer, and the salvation of souls!"*

22." Philadelphia, Feb. 4th, 1806, Propagation of the Gospel," *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine* (published according to Act of Congress), Vol. VI, No.10, April, 1806, 396-399. This appeal was made to support William Carey and his fellow missionaries from England's Baptist Missionary Society, in their work at Serampore and Bengal, India. The appeal asked that contributions be made soon, as the season for sailing to Calcutta was drawing near.

The original appeal was made by a sea captain who had recently been in the East Indies. In this publication his appeal is presented, vouched for, and re-asserted by a group of twelve ministers and a professor in Philadelphia, who are members of the following denominations: Presbyterian, German Lutheran, Episcopal, Scotch Presbyterian, Baptist, German Reformed, and Methodist Episcopal. The appeal lists Rev. Dr. Timothy Dwight, Congregationalist and President of Yale College, as one of the nineteen individuals from New Hampshire to Georgia to whom American Christians can make their contributions for this cause.

23. *The Massachusetts Missionary Magazine*, June, 1806, Vol. IV, No. 1, 24-30.

24. Thomas C. Richards, *Samuel J. Mills*, 35-36.

25. "Brethren (Andover Theological Seminary) Records," Andover Newton Theological School Hills Library, Special Collections, Call no. 1976-1, 1.

26. Joseph Tracy, *History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Compiled Chiefly from the Published and Unpublished Documents of the Board* (New York: M. W. Dodd, 1842), 29; William E. Strong, *The Story of the American Board: An Account of the First Hundred Years of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1910), 10.

27. "Society of Inquiry Respecting Missions (Andover Theological Seminary) Records," Andover Newton Theological School Hills Library, Special Collections, 1; Beaver, 250.

28. Tracy, 30, 55.

29. Tracy, 30-31.

30. John A. Andrew III, *Rebuilding the Christian Commonwealth: New England Congregationalists & Foreign Missions, 1800-1830* (Lexington, Kentucky: The University Press

of Kentucky, 1976), 77, 95.

31. Tracy, 32; "Minutes of the Eleventh Annual Meeting of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 20-21 of September 1820," *First Ten Annual Reports of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions With Other Documents of the Board* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1834), 256.

32. Beaver, 252.

33. Beaver, 268-278.

34. Beaver, 257-268.

35. John H. Hewitt, *Williams College and Foreign Missions: Biographical Sketches of Williams College Men Who have Rendered Special Service to the Cause of Foreign Missions* (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1914), 41; Colin Brummitt Goodykoontz, *Home Missions on the American Frontier, With Particular Reference to the American Home Missionary Society* (Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers Ltd, 1939), 139. [Reprint, Octagon Books, 1971]

36. Tracy, 33-34, 36-37.

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CHAPTER FIVE

AN OVERVIEW OF THE AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS

— *Early Purposes and Assumptions of the ABCFM*
— *A Suggestion for Missionary Preaching — 1819*
— *The Organization and Types of ABCFM Mission Fields*
— *Who Can Be a Missionary? Changes in ABCFM Views*
— *ABCFM Organizational Connections 1810 — 2006*
— *The ABCFM and Slavery*
— *The ABCFM, the English Language, and Higher Education*
— *A Plea for Medical Missionaries — 1893*
— *Percentage of Seminary Students Serving as Missionaries*

EARLY PURPOSES AND ASSUMPTIONS OF THE ABCFM

It is said that the "great design of the Board" in sending missionaries out, is for them to bring the saving knowledge of Christ to those in foreign lands who are in spiritual darkness. As the ABCFM's Prudential Committee notes in its 1828 annual report,

> *"...It is the duty of the church at large and of every member...to institute and sustain all proper measures for the conversion of the world; and, with reliance on divine aid to push forward these measures, till the work shall be done."*[1]

The ABCFM puts a primary emphasis on preaching. Quite often in early Board literature, reference is made to Jesus' command in Mark 16:13, *"Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature.*" That command also appears on the ABCFM's seal.

From the beginning of the ABCFM until about the end of the 19th century, it is assumed that missionaries do not need to learn much about the people and cultures they are being sent to. It is enough that their missionaries are ordained and committed to preaching the gospel. Also, particularly in the earlier years of the Board's existence, not a great deal is known in America about many of the foreign lands ABCFM missionaries are sent to.[2] ABCFM historian Dr. Fred Goodsell maintains that up until the Civil War, the missionaries of the ABCFM and other societies in America were the primary source of information on non-European countries for Americans.[3]

In the early years of the Board there is an assumption that ABCFM missionary work will not fail, because it is fulfilling God's purposes.[4]

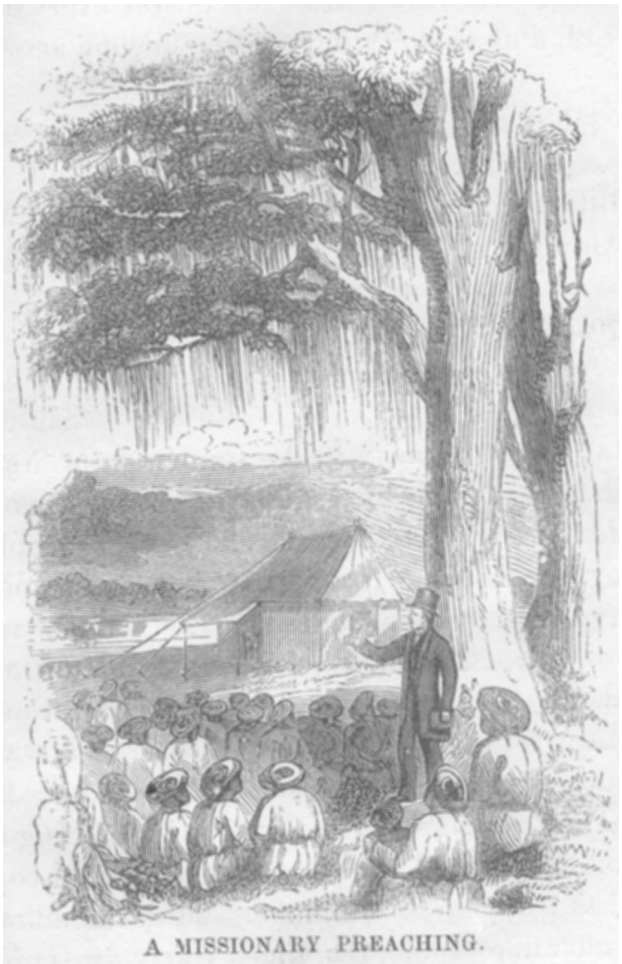
In the Board's early years, it is generally assumed that its missionaries will serve at their posts for life and not expect to return to the United States. This expectation is modified some in 1837 and 1839, but only to allow for the return of missionaries for health and other absolutely necessary reasons.[5]

The ABCFM does not see itself as an ecclesiastical body which ordains ministers or rules on doctrinal disputes. Rather, it is an agency which seeks to serve the churches affiliated with it. This long held principle is stated at the sixty-second annual meeting of the ABCFM, held in Salem, Massachusetts on October 3-6, 1871:

> *"Neither this board, nor the Prudential Committee, are in any wise a theological court to settle doctrinal points of belief, but a body instituted by the churches to make known the gospel of Christ among the heathen nations and those who sit in darkness, though nominally Christian, and establish churches among them, maintaining that faith, and that only, which is universally received by those Christian bodies whose agents they are, and who furnish the funds which they administer."* [6]

In 1828, like many other Protestant Christians in New England of that time, the ABCFM's Prudential Committee assumes that *"the Gospel affords the only adequate relief for the temporal, as well as for the spiritual wants of men.*[7] A question which challenges early ABCFM missionaries, particularly those working in cultures which seem primitive by American standards, is whether Christianity "should precede or follow civilization." Missionaries in the field were sometimes torn between the Board's primary emphasis on preaching the gospel and their own observations that the people they were working with had other basic needs which should be met for their well being. Being so torn, those early missionaries did not always make effective responses to help meet those needs.[8]

In its annual report of 1837, the Prudential Committee states that *"hospitals and dispensaries, though excellent institutions and highly useful in some of their relations to the cause, do not come within the range of objects embraced by the Board as a missionary society..."*[9] Yet, as the decades pass, the ABCFM begins to broaden its understanding of evangelization to include programs which also provide for people's physical and economic well-being. Such programs include medical missions and education in agricultural and industrial fields.[10]



A MISSIONARY PREACHING.

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A SUGGESTION FOR MISSIONARY PREACHING 1819

"Tell a heathen there is a God; he probably believed it before. Tell him he is a sinner; he confesses, and charges the same on you. Go through with all the doctrines...and you awaken no special interest. But exhibit the mystery of godliness, 'God manifest in the flesh,' and you fill him with astonishment. Shew him a bleeding Savior, and you melt him to repentance."[11]

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THE ORGANIZATION AND TYPES OF ABCFM MISSION FIELDS

The overall field of work in a particular area is referred to as a mission. A station is located in a particular place and has one or more missionaries. An outstation is occupied by a native helper who is employed by the mission and serves either as a preacher or as a non licensed catechist. Each mission is autonomous, except that it must adhere to the laws and instructions of the ABCFM. All the missionaries and assistant missionaries age twenty-one and older at a mission, have a vote in its self-governance. Native helpers do not have a vote in the mission.

The goal of each mission is to help develop a native Christian community and church which are self-sufficient as soon as possible, so the mission can end. To achieve this goal it is thought more effective for the churches and Christian organizations of the native populations to be maintained as organizations completely separate from the missions. This way, native preachers are not put on a level apart from the people to whom they are ministering. ABCFM missionaries are discouraged from serving native churches on a permanent basis, as the ultimate goal is for those churches to be led by native preachers.[12] Dr. Rufus Anderson served as the Corresponding Secretary of the ABCFM from 1832-1866. He was a key figure in shaping the Board's early policies. Anderson's overall approach to foreign missions has been called the "Three Self" program.[13] In 1984, David M. Stowe, Executive Vice President of the United Church Board for World Ministries, described Anderson's approach this way:

> *A radical theology of liberation was implicit in Rufus Anderson's policy governing church relationships...He affirmed that the objective of missions is the establishment of self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating churches. Not colonies of the mission board; not faithful copies of a mother church in the West; but communities of Christians freed and empowered by the gospel to work out the meaning of Christian discipleship where they are, to express that discipleship in their own authentic ways, and to pass on the gift of gospel freedom to others.*[14]

In 1959, Dr. Fred Field Goodsell, an ABCFM missionary, historian, and the Board's first Executive Vice-President, identified the following five types of missionary work which the Board had undertaken over the course of its history. Goodsell also cited examples of each type and indicated that each has its own special characteristics and challenges.[15]

1. Missions Among Peoples of Ancient Civilizations
   India, Ceylon, China, Japan
2. Missions Among Peoples of Primitive Cultures
   Native Americans, Sandwich Islands, South Africa
3. Missions Among Peoples of the Ancient Christian Churches
   Christian minorities in the Ottoman Empire such as Greeks and Armenians, Mexico, Spain, Philippine Islands
4. Missions Among Muslim peoples
   Turkey, Philippine Islands

5. Missions among People Influenced by "Atheistic Secularism"
   More apparent in the 20th century, found in many places but strong in the United States and Europe.[16]

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WHO CAN BE A MISSIONARY? CHANGES IN ABCFM VIEWS

1812 Five ordained men, graduates of Andover Theological Seminary, are sent to India, as the ABCFM's first missionaries. Three of these missionaries are accompanied by their wives whom they recently married.

1818 The first woman to receive an ABCFM appointment is Judith Chase of Cornish, New Hampshire. She is appointed to teach school among the Cherokees, but is not granted missionary status.[17]

1819 The first medical doctor to accompany ABCFM missionaries overseas is Dr. Thomas Holman. Such doctors are considered "assistant missionaries." Holman accompanies the ABCFM's earliest missionaries to the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii). A key responsibility of such doctors is to help the missionaries stay well. A number of early ABCFM missionaries succumb to disease in foreign lands. Doctors are also expected to use their healing skills to help convert souls.[18]

1823 The first unmarried woman to be sent over seas by the ABCFM is Betsy Stockton of Princeton, New Jersey. She is appointed to serve as a teacher on the Sandwich Islands.[19]

1839 Perhaps the first woman to receive ABCFM missionary status is Eliza Agnew, who served at the ABCFM's Oodoville Female Boarding School in Ceylon. In the period before the Civil War, she is one of a few women granted that status by the ABCFM.[20]

1885 The first trained nurse sent out by the ABCFM is Miss Linda Richards, who is sent to Japan to help establish a nurse's training school. Miss Richards is also considered the first trained nurse in America.[21]

1893 Some unordained men appointed to fulfill specific missionary responsibilities begin to be granted missionary status by the ABCFM. However, the first of these individuals may be Dr. William Wheelock Peet. He is commissioned by the ABCFM and begins his work as a treasurer and business agent of the four ABCFM missions in the Near East in 1881. He serves there for forty-four years.[22]

1897 Medical personnel appointed by the ABCFM begin to receive full missionary status. This reflects the ABCFM's new emphasis, begun a couple of years earlier, on providing medical services in mission fields. The ABCFM also supports training local people in

mission fields to be doctors and nurses.[23]

1900 About this time, the ABCFM regularly begins giving female appointees full missionary status.[24]

--The ABCFM begins appointing college students to serve in mission fields temporarily. Those students primarily serve as tutors in colleges and high schools related to the ABCFM.[25]

1925 The ABCFM Board creates the position of Medical Secretary.[26]

1940 The ABCFM's foreign policy committee affirms that there will be no racial restrictions in the appointment of its missionaries. It was reported that by 1910, the ABCFM has appointed five African American U. S. citizens to serve as its missionaries. In 1922 the ABCFM, in conjunction with the Negro Congregational Church of the United States and its African American missionaries, opens the Galangue Station of the Angola Mission in Africa.[27]

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ABCFM ORGANIZATIONAL CONNECTIONS 1810 — 2006

1810 The ABCFM is formed on June 29th by the unanimous vote of the General Association of Massachusetts Proper, a Trinitarian-oriented group made up of delegates from Congregational ministers' groups from around Massachusetts. The GAMP also appoints nine Commissioners to lead this new organization. All nine are Congregationalists from Massachusetts or Connecticut. Five Commissioners are clergy; four are lay persons.

1812 The ABCFM is incorporated by the General Court of Massachusetts as an independent body which chooses its own membership. The Board is now expanded to 24 corporate members and broadened to include representatives from several denominations. The Board now contains 16 Congregationalists, 6 Presbyterians, 1 Episcopalian, and 1 Dutch Reformed individual.[28]

1813 Female Cent societies begin to be associated with the ABCFM to help support its work.[29]

1826 Work of the United Foreign Missionary Society, originally formed in 1817 by Presbyterians, Dutch Reformed, and Associate Reformed Christians, is turned over to the ABCFM.[30]

1832-1857 The Dutch Reformed Church enters into an agreement with the ABCFM to conduct missions according to its own order. In 1857 the Dutch Reformed Church takes full responsibility for its mission stations in Amoy, China and Arcat, India.[31]

1837 After Presbyterians split internally, the "Old School"group withdraws from the ABCFM to conduct its missions through its newly formed Presbyterian Board of Missions. The "New School" group continues with the ABCFM.[32]

1838-1866 The German Reformed Church joins the ABCFM to do mission work in Brousa, the first capital of the Ottoman Empire.[33]

1865 Congregationalists from around the nation meeting in Boston reject the idea of creating a new organization for Congregational foreign missions. Rather, they endorse the ABCFM as an important missionary organization for Congregational churches to support. With this endorsement, the ABCFM begins a process which eventually connects it directly to the Congregational denomination. That process culminates in 1913.[34]

1868 The Woman's Board of Missions (WBM) is formed in Boston in January and the Woman's Board of Missions of the Interior (WBMI) is formed in October in Chicago. These organizations work with the ABCFM to support female missionaries appointed by the ABCFM. In their respective regions of the country, these boards develop auxiliary societies of women in local Congregational churches. They secure their own funds each year and support only single women as missionaries. They also provide funding for their missionaries to have native women as helpers.[35]

1870 "Old School" and "New School" Presbyterians merge. The latter leaves the ABCFM to do all its missionary work through the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. With this transition, the ABCFM transfers its missions in the following areas to the Presbyterian Board: Seneca and Ojibwa Native American Missions, Gaboon missions in Africa, and Syria and Persia Missions. At this time, some Presbyterian ministers serving the ABCFM transfer to the BFM.[36] With the departure of the Presbyterians, the ABCFM essentially becomes a Congregational organization, though it is not controlled by the Congregational churches which support it.[37] In 1894, Congregational historian Albert Dunning comments on this relationship, saying,

> *"With a membership of but two hundred and fifty persons, and these serving for life, and with recurring vacancies filled by the votes of the remaining members, [the ABCFM's] absolute independence of the churches whose love for missions forced them to contribute their moneys, was an anomaly in Congregationalism. It was an independence absolutely unknown to any other Protestant missionary society."*[38]

1871 Meeting in Oberlin, Ohio, Congregationalists form their own national denomination, which they call the National Council of the Congregational Churches of the United States. ABCFM representatives may attend the meetings of this Council, but they are not allowed to vote at them. This Oberlin meeting encourages local Congregationalists to stop supporting the American and Foreign Christian Union (AFCU) which was founded

in 1849 to counteract Roman Catholic efforts in America and overseas. The AFCU is then soon disbanded and its works and funds are transferred to the ABCFM. The Oberlin meeting also encourages the ABCFM to set up missionaries in Christian countries, which it does in Mexico, Spain, Austria (Czechoslovakia), and Italy.[39]

1873 The Woman's Board of Missions of the Pacific (WBMP) is created in Santa Cruz, California. It works with the ABCFM to support female missionaries.[40]

1882-1925 The Congregational Churches of Canada contribute personnel and money to support ABCFM work.[41]

1883 The ABCFM transfers its Native American work to the American Missionary Association, as recommended in 1874 by a committee of the National Council of the Congregational Churches of the United States.[42]

1886 In the wake of the Andover Controversy and the ABCFM's inclination to reject missionary candidates who are open to the theological idea called "future probation," there is a growing desire among Congregational churches which support the ABCFM financially, to have more direct representation on the ABCFM's Board. "Future probation" is the idea that for people who've never heard of Christ during their earthly lives, there must be a probationary period after death, when they will be able to confess Christ as their Lord and Savior and be saved.[43]

1901 Representatives of the ABCFM are allowed to be present and vote at meetings of the National Council of the Congregational Churches of the United States.[44]

1904-1950 The Schwenckfelder Church supports ABCFM missionaries in China.[45]

1904 It is now provided that male missionaries who have seven years of ABCFM service and who are still commissioned by the ABCFM should be elected as corporate members.[46]

1913 Voting members of the National Council of the Congregational Churches of the United States become voting, corporate members of the ABCFM. This provides for more local church representation in the decision-making of the ABCFM. The National Council also establishes the Commission on Missions, which operates until 1936, to supervise the boards now associated with it, including the ABCFM. Some at the national meeting want to add the word "Congregational" to the ABCFM name, but that is not passed. From the ABCFM's beginning, its own Board has been responsible for securing the ABCFM's support. But now, with the development of a "unified promotion" program to secure support for all the boards associated with the National Council, the Council begins to take responsibility for supporting the ABCFM. From this point on, the ABCFM becomes increasingly dependent on that support and it needs to utilize various ways of providing missionary education in local churches.[47]

1922-c.1947 In conjunction with the Negro Congregational Churches of the United States, the ABCFM opens a station in the Angola Mission in Africa, to be served by African American missionaries representing the NCCUS.[48]

1927 The Woman's Board of Missions (WBM), the Woman's Board of Missions of the Interior (WBMI), and the Woman's Board of Missions of the Pacific (WBMP) all merge with the ABCFM. The consolidation of separate funding appeals is one reason given for this merger.[49] At least as far back as 1865, some Congregational churches had voiced their concern that there were too many different funding appeals in their churches.[50] The women are promised 1/3 representation on the ABCFM's Prudential Board as well as positions as departmental executives. At the time of the merger there are more female than male missionaries.[51] When this merger does not bring about the financial and organizational benefits expected, a number of women are said to have felt that they lost more than they gained by this merger.[52] Earlier, in 1922, the *Life and Light* magazine of the WBM and the *Mission Studies* magazine of the WBMI were merged with the ABCFM's *Missionary Herald*.[53]

1931 The National Council of the Congregational Churches of the United States and the General Convention of Christian Churches unite to form the General Council of Congregational and Christian Churches. This leads to the uniting of their respective foreign missionary societies, namely, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and the Christian Foreign Missionary Society. The latter has a mission in Japan which is then united with the ABCFM's Japan mission. The ABCFM name is kept.[54]

1936 The General Council of Congregational and Christian Churches creates the Missions Council, in place of the Commission on Missions, to supervise ABCFM activities.[55]

1961 Following the 1957 merger of the General Council of Congregational and Christian Churches and the Evangelical and Reformed Church, to form the United Church of Christ, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions is merged in 1961 with the Congregational Christian Service Committee, the Board of International Missions (E&R), and the Commission on World Service (E&R) to form the United Church Board for World Ministries.[56]

1996 The United Church of Christ and the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) join together in forming the Common Global Ministries Board. The CGMB's purpose is to help the United Church Board for World Missions and the Division of Overseas Ministries of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), plan and administer global mission projects together and in partnership with churches and ecumenical bodies around the world.[57] The creation of this Board is an outgrowth of the 1989 vote by both denominations to *"in partnership...fully claim the mission and make deliberate commitment to engage in mission together, wherever and whenever possible."*[58]

2000 With restructuring in the United Church of Christ, the United Church Board for World Ministries is re-formed as Wider Church Ministries on July 1. The Common Global Ministries Board is an integral part of the this new organization.[59]

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THE ABCFM AND SLAVERY

Beginning in the mid 1830's or even earlier, the ABCFM is criticized for not taking a decisive stand against slavery in America. Criticism comes because the ABCFM continues to support Rev. John Leighton Wilson, who set sail in 1833 to assume his role as the ABCFM's first missionary in Africa. Wilson is from South Carolina and once a slave owner himself.

Criticism also comes because the ABCFM continues to regard some of its Cherokee and Choctaw Native American converts as Christians, even though those individuals continue to own slaves and slavery is accepted among their people. Criticism is also lodged because ABCFM missionaries who work among those Native Americans sometimes enter into arrangements to hire their slaves to do work on mission property. However, the Board says that when that has happened, the money earned was to be used to pay for the freedom of those slaves.

When challenged, the Board often takes the position that while it must not be seen as approving of slavery, it cannot enter the fray of controversy by making a declaration against slavery or taking measures against or for it, which will divert the Board from its basic mission, namely, evangelization.

Criticism against the ABCFM grows so strong on this matter, that in 1846 some members of the ABCFM leave it in order to form the American Missionary Association (AMA). The AMA seeks to serve non-Christians abroad as well as African Americans, and it does take a strong stand against slavery.

Over time, the ABCFM begins to be clearer about its opposition to slavery, but still the approach is a cautious one. In the 1850's both the Cherokee and the Choctaw have laws which forbid their people from educating any slave or child of a slave. As criticism mounts, the ABCFM finally closes its Choctaw mission in 1859 and its Cherokee mission in 1860, saying that both those tribes are now duly Christianized and civilized. In 1883 there is sufficient harmony between the AMA and the ABCFM that they agree to an exchange. The ABCFM transfers its work with Native Americans to the AMA, and the AMA makes income from its funds for work in Africa, available to the ABCFM for its work in that region.[60]

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THE ABCFM, THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE, AND HIGHER EDUCATION

Beginning in 1854, ABCFM Secretary Rufus Anderson and ABCFM Prudential Committee member Dr. A.C. Thompson spend fifteen months visiting ABCFM mission fields in India, Ceylon, and the Near East. A significant recommendation growing out of this tour is that ABCFM mission seminaries should not teach the English language and their classes should only be taught in native languages. This recommendation is called the "vernacular theory of education." Native language instruction is seen as supporting the Board's primary goal of evangelizing native populations and nurturing native ministers. However, English language instruction seems to undercut the latter goal, as mission students who learn English are often inclined to serve their governments or they are drawn away by government salaries which are higher than native churches can pay.

This visiting deputation recommends that the ABCFM's Batticotta Seminary in Jaffna, Ceylon be closed, and it is. Feeling the loss greatly, members of the local community form a high school, then Jaffna College in 1872. As early as 1834 Secretary Anderson had begun to question the value of teaching English at Batticotta Seminary because so many of its students were lost to secular employment. Anderson also comes to believe, that extensive educational programs offered by the ABCFM are *"incompatible with developing the necessary spirit of self-denial in native agents."* [61] The ABCFM's stand against teaching the English language and using it in classes is not well received by everyone. It causes Cyrus Hamlin, noted ABCFM missionary and principal of Bebek Seminary in Turkey, to resign from ABCFM work in 1860. That seminary was opened in 1840 to train Armenian assistants and preachers. After Hamlin's resignation, he founds Robert College in Constantinople.[62]

From the beginning, the ABCFM supports the establishment of elementary schools in its missions. However, in the early years the ABCFM does this not for the sake of education itself, but for the purpose of aiding the Board's evangelism work and building up Christian community. For many years there is no consensus in the ABCFM that providing higher education and teaching English are appropriate missionary goals. Some people associated with the ABCFM resist these things even into the 1880's. But eventually, the ABCFM drops the vernacular theory of education.

As the years pass, Dr. James L. Barton, who begins his service as an ABCFM Corresponding Secretary in 1894, is instrumental in guiding the ABCFM to support higher education as an important part of its missionary efforts. Barton takes the position that ABCFM related colleges should not be dependent on ABCFM donations received from churches, though such donations could be used to support theological studies. He assumes that many of those donors wish to support evangelization efforts, and that many cannot afford to send even their own children to college in America. In 1907, the ABCFM's Prudential Committee accepts Dr. Barton's plan to establish a permanent endowment fund to support the colleges and theological institutions associated with the ABCFM. After years of debate, higher education is now understood to be an important part of the ABCFM's missionary work.[63] In 1907, eighteen

colleges, a number of which have theological departments to train native ministers, are considered related to the ABCFM.[64] Those eighteen are:

Collegiate and Theological Institute, Samokov, Bulgaria
Foochow College, Foochow, Fukien Province, China
North China College, Tungchow, North China
Kobe College for Girls, Kobe, Japan
Amanzimtote Seminary, Adams, Natal, South Africa
International Institute for Girls, Madrid, Spain
Anatolia College, Marsovan, Turkey
Central Turkey College for Girls, Marash, Turkey
International College, Smyrna, Turkey
Jaffna College, Ceylon
Foochow Girl's College, Foochow, China
Doshisha University, Kyoto, Japan
Collegio Internacional, Guadalajara, Mexico
Pasumalai College, Pasumalai, South India
American College for Girls, Constantinople, Turkey
Central Turkey College, Aintab, Turkey
Euphrates College, Harpoot, Turkey
St. Paul's Institute, Tarsus, Turkey

It is estimated that over half the ABCFM missionaries in 1957 are engaged in educational work.[65]

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A PLEA FOR MEDICAL MISSIONARIES — 1893

"I fully recognize that their great need is of a change of heart, and that this must come through a view of the Lamb of God and a knowledge of his dying love. But how is this to be brought to them? It is not enough that we tell them of Christ's love. The story will seem but an "idle tale" to them unless they see that love exhibited in living form before their eyes. In what other way can we so readily do this as in relieving their physical sufferings?...in regard to their physical sufferings they feel a need; they often suffer, hopeless of relief, and if relief can be given, they feel that this is something to be thankful for, that they have been befriended. They become more ready to listen when spoken to of their greater needs and the provision which has been made for them."[66]

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PERCENTAGE OF SEMINARY STUDENTS SERVING AS MISSIONARIES

1872 Yale Divinity School notes that to this point, about 1/28 of its graduates have entered missionary service.[67]

1901 Hartford Theological Seminary, organized in 1834, says that up to this year, 1/10 of its graduates have worked in foreign lands.[68]

1908 Andover Theological Seminary, organized in 1807, reports that up to this year, 1/9 of its graduates have entered into missionary service. And, most of those graduates, namely 248 of them, have served as ABCFM missionaries.[69]

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ENDNOTES

1. Prudential Committee, *ABCFM Annual Report*, 1828, 115; Fred Field Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses: An Interpretation of the History of the American Board 1810-1960* (Boston: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1959), 99; Fred Field Goodsell, *They Lived Their Faith: An Almanac of Faith, Hope and Love* (Boston: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1961), 33.

2. Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses*, 182-184.

3. Goodsell, *They Lived Their Faith*, 453.

4. Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses*, 182-184.

5. Goodsell, *They Lived Their Faith*, 320-321.

6. Goodsell, *They Lived Their Faith*, 282-283, 350-351.

7. Prudential Committee, *ABCFM Annual Report*, 1828, 113.

8. Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses*, 84.

9. Goodsell, *They Lived Their Faith*, 202.

10. Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses*, 82-85.

11. Donald Philip Corr, *"'The field is the world': Proclaiming, translating, and serving by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1810-40.*" [Fuller Theological Seminary Ph.D. thesis, 1993], 58, 68 note 32. Corr presents this quote, indicating it is from Miron Winslow, *A Sketch of Missions; Or History of the Principal Attempts to Propagate Christianity among the Heathen* (Andover: Flagg and Gould, 1819), a book which he says came to be used as a textbook on missions at Andover Theological Seminary. Winslow went to Ceylon as an ABCFM missionary in 1819.

12. *Memorial Volume of the First Fifty Years of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions,* 5th ed. (Boston: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1862), 225-227.

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15. Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses*, 13-28.

16. Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses*, 27.

17. Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses*, 155.

18. Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses*, 64-65.

19. Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses*, 155.

20. Thomas Laurie, *The Ely Volume: or, The Contributions of our Foreign Missions to Science and Human Well-Being* (Boston: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1881), 404; Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses*, 183.

21. Goodsell, *They Live By Their Faith*, 459-460,

22. Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses*, 184; Goodsell, *They Lived Their Faith*, 316-317. Dr. Goodsell indicates that Dr. Peet's knowledge of Turkey may have influenced United States leaders not to declare war on Turkey during the First World War, thus avoiding considerable suffering on both sides.

23. Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses*, 71-72.

24. Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses*, 184.

25. Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses*, 193.

26. Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses*, 75.

27. Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses*, 190-193.

28. Joseph Tracy, *History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Compiled Chiefly from the Published and Unpublished Documents of the Board* (New York: M. W. Dodd, 1842), 35; Goodsell, *They Lived Their Faith*, 187.

29. Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses*, 155.

30. William E. Strong, *The Story of the American Board: An Account of the First Hundred Years of the American Board of Commissioners For Foreign Missions* (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1910), 150; Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses*, 127.

31. *Memorial*, 18; Strong, 310; Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses*, 133-135.

32. *Memorial*, 18; Strong, 151; Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses*, 130-131.

33. Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses*, 135-137.

34. Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses*, 115, 140.

35. Strong, 311; Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses*, 157-160; Williston Walker, *A Brief History of the Congregational Churches in the United States*, 6th ed., The American Church History Series (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907) 467.

36. Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses*, 131.

37. von Rohr, *The Shaping of American Congregationalism, 1620-1957* (Cleveland, Ohio: The Pilgrim Press, 1992), 259.

38. Albert E. Dunning, *Congregationalists in American: A Popular History of their Origin, Belief, Polity, Growth and Work* (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1894), 504.

39. Strong, 290-291; Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses*, 24, 212.

40. Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses*, 160.

41. Strong, 333; Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses*, 137, 189.

42. Strong, 195; Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses*, 143.

43. Strong, 330-332; Walker, 415-422; Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses,* 110-116.

44. Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses*, 142.

45. Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses*, 137.

46. Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses*, 199.

47. Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses*, 146-148, 216.

48. Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses*, 192.

49. Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses*, 168-169.

50. Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses*, 223.

51. Stowe, 16.

52. von Rohr, 426.

53. Goodsell, *They Lived Their Faith*, 85-87, 391-392. Goodsell indicates that on March 12, 1926, the ABCFM elected seventy-women to its membership and twelve women to its Prudential Committee.

54. Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses*, 137.

55. Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses*, 149.

56. Stowe, 18, Chronology.

57. "History, Mission, and Organization of the Common Global Ministries Board: A Common Witness of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) and the United Church of Christ" (Cleveland, Common Global Ministries Board), 2, 3; "Reaching Out Globally in Mission," a brochure by Global Ministries.

58. "Resolution, 'Ecumenical Partnership,' 1989," quoted in "Toward a Vision of Global Mission: Guiding Principles," "History, Mission, and Organization of the Common Global Ministries Board: A Common Witness of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) and the United Church of Christ" (Cleveland, Common Global Ministries Board), 3.

59. "History, Mission, and Organization of the Common Global Ministries Board," 2.

60. Tracy, 320; Charles Whipple, *Relation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to Slavery* (Boston: R. F. Wallcut, 1861); Strong, 52-54, 186-187, Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses*, 106-107; Goodsell, *They Lived Their Faith*, 25-26, 309-310, 343-344.

61. Harris, 132.

62. Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses*, 53-59; Goodsell, *They Lived Their Faith*, 322-323, 396-397; Harris, 46, 127-152.

63. von Rohr, 374.

64. Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses*, 49-63; Harris, 136.

65. Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses*, 252.

66. From an 1893 letter written to the ABCFM by Dr. W. L. Thompson who was serving as an ABCFM "assistant missionary" at Mt. Silinda in Southern Rhodesia. Goodsell, *They Lived Their Faith*, 197-198; About 1897 the ABCFM began to give its medical personnel full missionary status. Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses*, 71-72.

67. Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses*, 187.

68. Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses*, 185; Goodsell, *They Lived Their Faith*, 36.

69. Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses*, 186; Goodsell, *They Lived Their Faith*, 60-61.

CHAPTER SIX

A CHRONOLOGY OF ABCFM MISSIONS AND EVENTS SINCE 1813

ABCFM mission first established in specified locale[1]

1813 Gordon Hall and Samuel and Rosanna Nott begin missionary work in Bombay, despite difficulties with the authorities there. Samuel Newell is able to join them at the beginning of 1814. Seeing the pain created by the caste system in India, these missionaries make rejection of that system a "test of Christian discipleship."[2]

1813---Bombay, India, Marathi people

1814 On December 24, the *War of 1812* ends with the signing of the Treaty of Ghent.

1815 On the advice of physicians, the Notts leave India on September 17 due to Samuel's health problems which began shortly after his arrival in India. Samuel eventually serves as the minister of the Congregational church in Wareham, Massachusetts.[3]

1816---Ceylon

1817 On May 1, the ABCFM opens up the *Foreign Mission School* in Cornwall, Connecticut to provide education for youth in America who are from cultures which are not Christian, Jewish, or Islamic. Mostly Sandwich Islands and Native American students attend. Some prospective ABCFM missionaries also receive training here. For a number of years, this school stirs public interest in foreign mission work and support for the ABCFM. However, a storm of criticism is raised when two students at the school enter inter-racial marriages. One of these students is Elias Boudinot, a Cherokee.[4] He marries Harriet Gold, a daughter of a prominent Cornwall citizen. Criticism comes from both whites and Native Americans. At one point, Elias and Harriet are even burned in effigy on the village green of Cornwall.[5] Some leaders of the ABCFM are strong supporters of such marriages. The ABCFM Board publicly criticizes the racial issue in Cornwall. However, due to this controversy, students dying from illness, and students have serious re-adjustment problems upon returning to their homelands, ABCFM leaders close this school in 1827. This experience helps them conclude that it is better for young people to be educated in their homelands.[6]

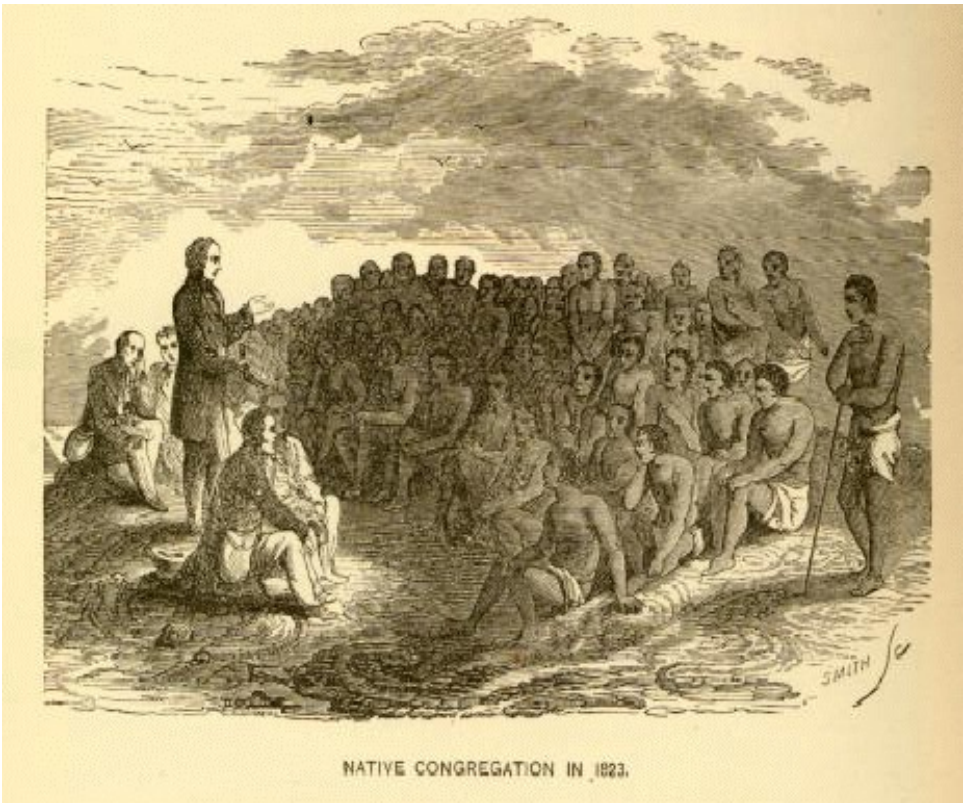
--The oldest and best known student at the *Foreign Mission School* is Opukahaia [Henry Obookiah], a native Sandwich Islander who is a Christian convert and studying to bring Christianity back to his people. As a child, during a tribal war in Hawaii, Opukahaia saw both his parents killed and also his infant brother whom he was carrying on his back at the time. A sea captain eventually helped Opukahaia come to New Haven, Connecticut,

where he was befriended by Edwin M. Dwight, who first taught him to read and write the English language. Opukahaia subsequently became a friend of Samuel Mills Jr., lived in Mills' Torringford home for a period, and accompanied Mills to Andover Theological Seminary. The experiences people have with Opukahaia play an important role in encouraging the ABCFM to send missionaries to the Sandwich Islands in 1819. Unfortunately, Opukahaia doesn't live to see this, as he dies of typhus fever on February 17, 1818. At the time he is just 26 years old.[7]

1817---Cherokee Native Americans
1818---Choctaw Native Americans

1819 The ABCFM's first church in the Sandwich Islands [Sandwich Islands Mission Church] is gathered at the Park Street Church on October 15, just before the ABCFM band of twenty-one persons sets sail to establish their mission in those islands. That group includes two missionaries, two teachers, one doctor, one printer, one farmer, their families, and three Sandwich Island natives who have received training at the ABCFM's Foreign Mission School in Cornwall, Connecticut.[8]

1820---Sandwich Islands



NATIVE CONGREGATION IN 1823.

1820---Palestine

1821 In January the *Panoplist and Missionary Herald* magazine becomes the property of the ABCFM and the magazine is renamed the *Missionary Herald*. This publication is now devoted to missionary work. The forerunners of this publication were the *Massachusetts Missionary Magazine* and the *Panoplist,* created by Congregationalists in 1803 and 1805, respectively. In 1808, those two publications were combined as *The Panoplist and Missionary Magazine*. In 1818, the magazine's name was again changed, to *The Panoplist and Missionary Herald*. The *Missionary Herald* is published until 1950, at which point it is the "oldest magazine of continuous circulation in the United States."[9]

1823 This year ABCFM missionaries in Ceylon open a school in Jaffna which is said to be the "first American institution of higher education outside the United States." This school is a predecessor to Jaffna College.[10]

1823---Syria
1826---Turkey
1826---Osage Native Americans
1826---Maumee Native Americans
1826---New York Native Americans
1826---Mackinaw Native Americans
1827---Chickasaw Native Americans
1828---Stockbridge Native Americans

1829 This year ABCFM Corresponding Secretary, Jeremiah Evarts, a strong advocate for justice, writes essays in the *National Intelligencer* supporting the natural rights of Native Americans and rejecting the State of Georgia's claim to Cherokee lands. He writes under the name, William Penn. Evarts' essays draw the public's attention to this concern and are acclaimed by some, including Chief Justice Marshall of the United States Supreme Court who describes them as the "most conclusive argument that he ever read on any subject whatever." Evarts dies in 1831 and does not see the infamous "Trail of Tears" removal of the Cherokee to Oklahoma by Federal troops and Georgia militia members which begins in 1838.[11]

1830---Greece
1830---Canton, China
1830---Ojibwa Native Americans

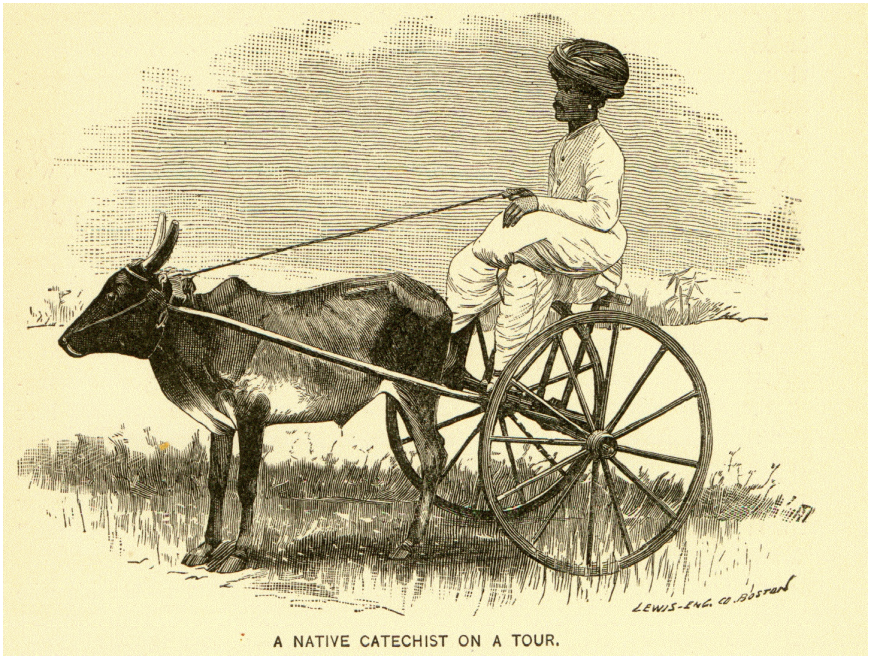
1831 Rev. Samuel A. Worcester and Dr. Elizur Butler serve as ABCFM missionaries to the Cherokees. On September 16, following a trial, Worcester and Butler are sentenced by the State of Georgia to serve four year prison terms at hard labor, for refusing to obey the state law which requires them, as white men living on Cherokee land, to take an oath of allegiance to the state. This law disregards the Cherokee Nation's claim of sovereignty and is a step toward the state's annexation of the Cherokee's land. The missionaries are imprisoned and they appeal this law to the U.S. Supreme Court in *Worcester v. Georgia.*

Ruling against the State of Georgia, the Supreme Court affirms the sovereignty of the Cherokee Nation, but the state ignores that ruling. For fear of starting a civil war among the states, the missionaries finally decide not to mount a second appeal to the Supreme Court. Rather, they allow themselves to be pardoned and released from prison in January, 1833. The Cherokees ultimately lose their land to the State of Georgia. However, the *Worcester v. Georgia* decision becomes a significant legal precedent for use in modern United States law cases which involve the right of Native American tribes to have an inherent form of national sovereignty and the right to rule themselves.[12]

1831---Siam
1832---Jewish Residents of Constantinople
1832---Creek Native Americans

1834 On June 28, ABCFM missionaries Rev. Samuel Munson and Rev. Henry Lyman, who are on an exploratory tour of Sumatra, are speared and killed by a group of two hundred Batta men who mistakenly assume they are their enemies. The tribe is cannibalistic and said to have cooked and eaten Munson and Lyman. In 1842 it is said that *"the death of these brethren produced a deep sensation through the Christian world."*[13]

1834---Madura, India



A NATIVE CATECHIST ON A TOUR.

1834---Nestorians in Persia
1834---Singapore, Malaysia
1834---Pawnee Native Americans
1834---Cape Palmas, Northwest Africa
1834---Cyprus

1835---Sioux Native Americans
1835---Zulus, Southern Africa
1835---Abenaquis Native Americans

1836 The ABCFM sends Dr. Marcus Whitman and Rev. Henry H. Spalding and their wives, Narcissa and Eliza, to work with Native Americans in the Northwest. The route these missionaries take is later known as the Oregon Trail. Narcissa and Eliza are the first white women to cross the Rocky Mountains. The Whitmans establish a mission to the Cayuse in the Walla Walla Valley. The Spaldings establish a mission to the Nez Perce at Lapwai [Idaho]. These missions are so difficult to reach, that the ABCFM sends supplies to them by way of the Sandwich Islands. In the winter of 1842-1843, Whitman makes a daring trip across the continent to convince leaders of the ABCFM not to close their mission to Cayuse Native Americans, which has not been very successful. On his return, Whitman helps lead a great wagon train of pioneers back up the Oregon Trail to settle in Oregon. For various reasons, including an epidemic of measles which kills many Cayuse children but not many children of white settlers, the Cayuse lose their trust in the Whitmans and their mission. On November 29, 1847 some Cayuse tribesmen massacre fourteen people at the mission, including the Whitmans, and burn the mission buildings down.[14]

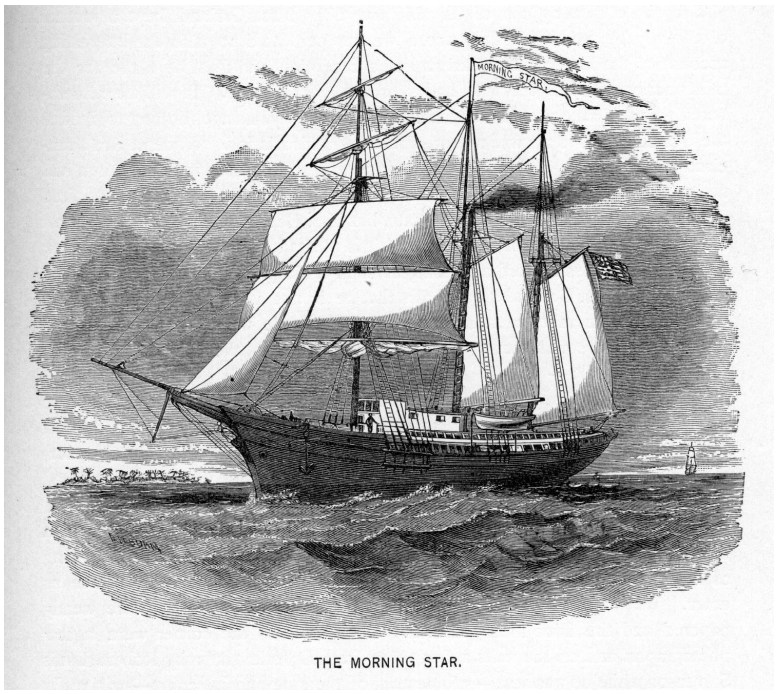
1836---Oregon
1836---Madras, India
1838---Persian Muslims
1838---Borneo

1842---Amoy, China
1843---Gaboon, West Africa
1844---Jews in Turkey

1847 On July 6, the ABCFM Madura mission in India takes a strong stand against the caste system, which nurtures prejudice and divides people. The mission votes that the sacrament of Holy Communion will not be administered to members of their churches who do not give evidence of forsaking the evil of caste. Such evidence includes treating Christians from other castes with kindness and being willing to eat meals with them. Initially this step is very disruptive. Seventy-two catechists and teachers who will not abandon caste are barred from the sacrament. Also, some people stop attending the mission's boarding schools and churches. However, over time the mission recovers with its stand against caste still intact. Unfortunately, the observance of caste is not completely eradicated, for many people still are not willing to go outside their caste in their choice of a marriage partner.[15]

1847---Foochow, China
1850---Assyria
1851---Arco, India
1852---Micronesia
1854 ---Shanghai, China

1856 On December 2, the ABCFM ship, called the "Morning Star" sets sail from Boston to the Sandwich Islands on its first voyage. It is needed so the ABCFM's missions in the South Pacific Ocean can be extended and its missionaries can be protected. This ship has been built for the ABCFM with the help of contributions from church school children who are issued an ABCFM certificate with each contribution. After ten years of use, the ABCFM feels the need to replace this ship with a new "Morning Star." Contributions for the second ship are received from about 2,000 Sunday schools. However, less than three years later this second ship is wrecked on a reef. By 1957 the ABCFM is using its seventh "Morning Star" vessel for mission work. Of these seven, two were wrecked, one was damaged by a hurricane, and one sank. In between vessels, the ABCFM relies on commercial transportation for its missionaries in Micronesia.[16]



THE MORNING STAR.

1858---Balkan

1860 It is said that over the first 50 years of its existence, the ABCFM has issued more than one billion five hundred million pages of literature in forty-six languages.[17]

1860---North China

1862 At the ABCFM's Annual Meeting, held in October at Springfield, Massachusetts, Dr. Rufus Anderson, lead ABCFM executive, notes with concern that of the more than 170 churches now affiliated with the ABCFM, only 30 have native pastors. He further notes that the ABCFM missions in China and Africa have no native pastors at all. This is a great concern, because a longstanding goal of the ABCFM has been to help develop self-sufficient, native Christian communities and churches as soon as possible, so the ABCFM mission connected to them can end. The ABCFM has wanted its missionaries to be evangelists, not settled pastors. But all too often, missionaries are reluctant to give up

pastoral positions they initially assumed out of necessity. Dr. Fred Goodsell, historian of the ABCFM, says that one reason for this problem was the tendency of earlier missionaries to undervalue the devotion and abilities of their native associates. This tendency of the missionaries sometimes reflected an attitude of Western superiority.[18]

1863 The ABCFM withdraws from its mission in Hawaii, saying that the islands have largely been Christianized.[19]

1867 On July 28, the Haystack Monument which commemorates the 1806 Haystack Prayer Meeting is dedicated at Mission Park at Williams College. This monument is a shaft which stands 12 feet high on the spot where the original haystack stood. The monument is made of polished, silver blue Berkshire marble and holds aloft a globe with the outline of Earth's continents inscribed upon it. The eastern face of this monument contains Jesus' words, *"The Field Is the World.*" The monument also contains an inscribed image of a haystack, around which are the words, "*The Birthplace of Foreign Missions, 1806."* The names of the five students at that prayer meeting are also engraved on this monument. An earlier suggestion to commemorate this prayer meeting by erecting a replica of a haystack--presumably made of stone--on this site, was rejected.[20]

--After the death of her ABCFM missionary husband, Rev. Augustus Walker, in Turkey, Eliza Jane Walker brings her own fourteen years of missionary service to a close. She and her four young children make a difficult 400 mile trek across Turkey to board a ship back to the United States. This year, Eliza and her children settle in Auburndale, Massachusetts, where Eliza's parents live. To supplement her income, Eliza opens her home to boarders. Soon her residence becomes a home for the children of other ABCFM missionary parents stationed overseas. Over time, Eliza's home and hospitality to missionary families and international guests, evolve into the Walker Missionary Homes of Auburndale, which is now known as the Walker Center for Ecumenical Exchange.[21]

1869 The ABCFM annual report this year shows that it has 19,500 honorary members, which is a reflection of widespread interest in its work.[22]

1869---Japan
1872---Mexico
1872---Spain
1872---Italy
1873---Czech People

1874 On March 2 in Ahualulco, Jalisco State, Mexico, a crowd shouting "Death to Protestants," breaks into the house of Rev. J. L. Stephens and brutally kills him. Stephens is an ABCFM missionary assigned to Mexico. He was in the first graduating class at the Pacific Theological Seminary at Oakland, California.[23]

1880---Angola, West Africa
1881---Shansi, China

1880's In this period, higher education begins to be an accepted goal of ABCFM missions and the Board enters a long period of supporting educational institutions overseas.[24]

1881 The ABCFM publishes a book by Thomas Laurie entitled, *The Ely Volume: or, The Contributions of our Foreign Missions to Science and Human Well-Being*. The purpose of this book is to show the accomplishments of the ABCFM missionaries, particularly in the fields of geography, philology, and archaeology.[25]

1886 The so-called Andover Controversy[26] which has been building among Congregationalists, becomes a critical issue for the ABCFM this year, at the Board's annual meeting held in Des Moines, Iowa. At this meeting, Dr. E. K. Alden, Home Secretary of the ABCFM, indicates that some young men have not been accepted for ABCFM missionary service because they have doubts that the present life is the only time when a person can make a decision for Christ. Their doubts reflect the new view, taught by some Andover Theological Seminary professors, that people who have never heard of Christ, may have another opportunity after their deaths, to be forgiven by Christ and receive salvation. This view is commonly referred to as "future probation."

Alden's report sets off a spirited debate at this annual meeting. In his attempt to justify the rejection of those candidates, Alden argues that if this new belief becomes widespread, it will cut "the nerve of missions." There is this concern. If people assume there's no great need to accept Christ in this life, their impulse to send missionaries overseas to secure conversions will likely be greatly weakened. This annual meeting generally supports the rejection of such candidates. But, ultimately, such rejections cause the ABCFM to lose considerable support over the next two decades.[27] As historian Williston Walker notes,

> *"...a large and increasing party, who had no sympathy with the disputed theories, felt that the emphasis laid on doctrinal examination by the Prudential Committee and the Home Secretary was undue, and that a Board which carried on the foreign mission work of all the churches should be ready to welcome candidates to its fields of labor whom ecclesiastical councils were willing to install in home pulpits."*[28]

This controversy lingers on and more missionary candidates are rejected because of their beliefs in this area, including Rev. William H. Noyes who is rejected three times. Finally, at its October annual meeting in 1893, held in Worcester, Massachusetts, the ABCFM votes in favor of requesting its Prudential Committee to accept Rev. Noyes as an ABCFM missionary. It is noted that while Rev. Noyes' personal views on "future probation" have not changed, he has never taught those views in missionary work he has already done in Japan under the auspices of a Boston church. Following this vote, the resignations of Dr.

Alden and two Prudential Committee members are presented and accepted. This experience leads the ABCFM to be more tolerant of ordained missionary candidates who hold somewhat different theological views. It also leads many Congregational churches, whose support the ABCFM depends on, to want more direct representation on the ABCFM's Board. In response to this widespread feeling, the ABCFM is drawn increasingly closer to Congregationalism. That process culminates in 1913, when the voting members of the National Council of the Congregational Churches of the United States are also considered legal corporate members of the ABCFM.[29]

It's worth noting, that from its beginning, the ABCFM had taken the position that it is not an ecclesiastical body to ordain ministers or an ecclesiastical court to settle theological disputes. Thus, prior to the Andover Controversy, the general practice of the ABCFM had been to accept the credentials of those ordained by recognized ecclesiastical councils.[30]

1893---Southern Rhodesia

1894 The following statistics are reported for this year. The ABCFM has 20 missions and 444 churches which have a combined membership of 41,522 people. The Board has a total of 557 missionaries. These include 183 ordained ministers [10 of whom are also physicians], 18 non-ordained men and 356 non-ordained women. The ABCFM's missions have 2741 native workers. Of those workers, 768 are pastors and preachers.[31] Also, it is calculated that since the ABCFM's beginning, it has sent 2006 people to its mission fields, and mission churches have received a total of 125,584 members.[32]

1898 This year the ABCFM moves its offices to the American Congregational Association's newly constructed Congregational House at 14 Beacon Street in Boston, Massachusetts. This is the eighth location of the ABCFM's offices since it was formed in 1810.[33]

1900

According to one estimate, the foreign missionary impulse has become so strong in North America, that by now, there are fifty-two sending missionary boards in the United States and eight in Canada. Together they have 5,000 missionary staff members.

R. Pierce Beaver, Pioneers in Mission, 4.

1901 On September 4, Miss Ellen Stone and Mrs. Katerina Tsilka are kidnapped by armed revolutionaries as they travel on horseback in Macedonia. This kidnapping comes to be called, "American's first modern hostage crisis." Miss Stone is a missionary at the ABCFM's European Turkey Mission. She is responsible for overseeing Bible classes for women and the native women who help teach those classes. At this point she has already

worked as a missionary in this region for twenty years. Mrs. Tsilka is one of Miss Stone's assistants. Mrs. Tsilka is a Bulgarian nurse and teacher, and wife of a Bulgarian preacher. The kidnappers are in revolt against the control of Macedonia by Turkey. During her captivity, Mrs. Tsilka gives birth to a little girl, Elenchie. There is great public outrage at this kidnapping in America and England. A vexing question is whether or not the United States will pay the ransom demanded by the women's kidnappers. In addition to the United States, the nations of Turkey, Russia, Britain, and Bulgaria become involved in this difficult affair. The ransom is finally raised from Miss Stone's family, her friends, churches, and other sources. After months of intrigue and delicate negotiations with the revolutionaries, the ransom is paid and the two women are released on February 23, 1902.[34]

1903---Philippine Islands

1905 The ABCFM is caught up in conflict when it announces it has accepted a $100,000 contribution from John D. Rockefeller, the president of the Standard Oil Company. This is the largest sum the ABCFM has received to this point from a live donor. The money is to be used primarily to support the ABCFM's educational efforts overseas. When some clergy and lay persons learn of this gift, they protest and want it returned or declined, as they believe the Standard Oil Company's business methods are "immoral and injurious." A leading voice in this protest is that of Congregational minister Washington Gladden, known for his leadership in the Social Gospel movement and his hymn, *"O Master, Let Me Walk With Thee.*" A decade before this, Gladden had written against the use of "tainted money" from disreputable sources to support worthwhile causes. Gladden uses that phrase "tainted money" again in this conflict, and it becomes, as one of Rockefeller's close associates later says, "a deathless phrase" in English literature. The money is ultimately kept by the ABCFM. Later, the criticism is blunted some, when it is realized that Rockefeller's gift was not thrust on the ABCFM. Rather, the ABCFM had been seeking it for years. However, Gladden and others persevere. In the fall of this year they secure a pledge from the ABCFM's Prudential Committee, that it will not solicit gifts from questionable sources. It is said that part of the reason the Committee makes this pledge, is that it wishes to end the controversy and secure unanimous support for its million dollar Haystack Campaign.[35]

1906 The Centennial of the Haystack Prayer Meeting is celebrated in Williamstown, Massachusetts on October 10 with a number of activities. Among these, a worship service with more than 2,500 people attending is held at Mission Park where the Haystack Monument is located. This day-long celebration takes place in conjunction with the Ninety-Seventh Annual Meeting of the ABCFM which is then being held in Williamstown.[36]

1910 ABCFM delegates attend the World Missionary Conference held in Edinburgh, Scotland in June. This Conference affirms the importance of teaching missionaries about the cultures they will serve in, before they go overseas. In response to that emphasis, the

Hartford School of Missions is established in Hartford, Connecticut in 1911. Other missionary schools are subsequently founded in the United States and other countries. In time, the Hartford school's name is changed to The Kennedy School of Missions. In 1961 the Kennedy School is part of the merger which forms the Hartford Seminary Foundation.[37]

--On October 12 there is a special pilgrimage to celebrate the Centennial of the founding of the ABCFM. A special train leaves from Boston and arrives in Andover, Massachusetts at 10:00 a.m. A worship service is held at Rabbit Rock near the former site of Andover Theological Seminary, to dedicate a bronze tablet now affixed to that rough, seven foot high, granite rock.[38] The tablet's inscription reads:

> *In the "Missionary Woods," once extending to this spot, the First Missionary Students of Andover Seminary walked and talked one hundred years ago, and on this secluded knoll met to pray.*
>
> *In memory of these men: Adoniram Judson, Samuel Nott, Samuel J. Mills, Samuel Newell, Gordon Hall, James Richards, Luther Rice, whose consecrated purpose to carry the gospel to the heathen world led to the formation of the First American Society for Foreign Missions.*
>
> *In recognition of the two hundred and forty-eight missionaries trained in Andover Seminary, and in gratitude to Almighty God, this stone is set up in the Centennial year of the American Board. 1910*

THE AMERICAN BOARD OF
COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS
WAS ORGANIZED JUNE 29. 1810.
IN THE CHURCH THAT STOOD HERE
IT HAS CARRIED THE GOSPEL
INTO MANY LANDS AND MINISTERED TO MILLIONS
THROUGH CHURCHES, SCHOOLS AND HOSPITALS
M C M X

Electric cars then take pilgrims to Bradford, along nearly the same route which the Andover students took in 1810, when they walked to the annual meeting of the General Association of Massachusetts Proper to make their presentation, which indicated their desire to serve as foreign missionaries.[39]

At Bradford, on the Common in front of the First Church of Christ, Bradford, more than 4,000 people gather on the afternoon of October 12 to watch the unveiling of a rectangular granite monument which is about 8 feet high, 5 feet wide, and 3 feet thick. This monument bears a bronze tablet on one side and a large, engraved Celtic cross on the other side. The cross bears the *IHS* monogram of Christ. And engraved around the circle on the cross are Jesus' words, *"I am the light of the world.*" The tablet's inscription reads:

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was organized June 29, 1810 in the church that stood here --- It has carried the gospel into many lands and ministered to millions through churches, schools and hospitals --- MCMX

As Rev. Everett S. Stackpole, minister of the First Church of Christ, Bradford states, shortly before the monument is unveiled,

> *In the little printed pamphlet which some of you have, I have ventured to make a prophecy. The poet Lowell says, "Never[,] don't prophesy, unless you know.'"I think I know. If three thousand years from now an earthquake or a thunderbolt shall overthrow the remains of this monument which the frosts of winter have spared, expert linguists will be called to decipher the characters and words of the books, papers and manuscript in the copper box underneath this stone of thirteen tons. Missionary societies as now known will have ceased to be, because the whole world will long before have become the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ. The Christianity then prevalent will be of a grander and broader type than any form of it now known. The sages and saints of many nations, where 'God hath not left himself without a witness' will help to shape the growing ideals of a Christian world. The religion of that time will be an eclectic one, but it will center about the person of Jesus Christ our Lord, whom we all believe to be the best and fullest expression of the character and will of our heavenly Father of infinite love.*[40]

1918---Shaown, China
1924---Iraq

1928 ABCFM delegates attend the Jerusalem Conference of the International Missionary Council. At this Conference, Dr. Rufus Jones, Quaker theologian and philosopher, and others help many delegates become aware for the first time, that secularism presents a major challenge to the Christian faith. Jones says that in some respects, the modern world is in a "post Christian" era. ABCFM historian Fred Field Goodsell identifies "atheistic secularism" as the ABCFM's fifth type of mission field, which he indicates is found in many places.[41]

1930's The finances of the ABCFM are very difficult in the period between 1920 and 1940. In fact, from 1930 to 1939, the income of the ABCFM drops from $2.1 million to $1.1 million, requiring the ABCFM to make considerable cuts in its personnel and programs.[42]

1932 John D. Rockefeller, Jr. finances the Laymen's Foreign Mission Inquiry, which seeks to assess the effectiveness of foreign missions in the Orient. This study is conducted by New York's Institute for Social and Religious Research under the leadership of Dr. William Ernest Hocking, a Harvard University philosophy professor. This research focuses on the

work of the ABCFM and some other missionary societies in India, China, Burma, and Japan. The results of this study are published in seven volumes, but are reduced to one volume for the general public. That volume is entitled, *Re-Thinking Missions: A Laymen's Inquiry After One Hundred Years*.[43]

The study notes that in the past, missionaries with varying qualifications were sent to foreign lands in large numbers, to serve primarily as preachers to spread the Christian message widely. Moving beyond that model, the study recommends that missionaries in the future should be few in number, highly skilled in their field, and respected representatives of "the Christian way of thought and life," who are ready to consult with the people in the lands where they serve, as they are accepted or requested to do so. Religious historian William R. Hutchinson summarizes this study's prescription for future missionaries this way,

> *The new missionary...should be an ambassador more than either a soldier or a high-pressure salesman. The ambassador for Christ would be accredited, or even selected, by those he or she was to serve. The religious ambassador, like secular ones, would be expected to believe in his cause and to hope that others would be drawn to it, but not to press others to change their own allegiance.*[44]

Among its many recommendations, the report calls for missionary boards to move *"away from sectarianism toward unity and cooperation, and away from a religion focused upon doctrine toward a religion focused upon the vital issues of life for the individual and for the social environment in which the individual lives."*[45] The report emphasizes that *"we must be willing to give largely without any preaching,"*[46] and that providing assistance in the areas of education, medicine, social work, agriculture, and industry should be considered important aspects of mission work. The study calls for missionaries to learn about and understand other religions and to recognize and associate themselves *"with whatever kindred elements there are in them.*" Also, missionaries should be willing to *"cooperate with non-Christian agencies for social improvement."*[47] The study criticizes the caliber of many of the missionaries then in the field. As Hutchinson notes, some of that criticism came because,

> *"The attempt to combine Christian service with the drive to make converts had too often led to the commissioning of second-rate doctors, educators, agronomists, and social workers; or else had distorted and deflected the energies of the first-rate ones."* [48]

Re-Thinking Missions stimulates considerable debate among American Christians. Some denominational mission groups raise many objections to it. The theology presented in the report is particularly challenged.[49]

1933 At its January 18 meeting in Evanston, Illinois, the ABCFM's Prudential Committee

officially adopts a *"Statement of the American Board's Attitude to the Laymen's Report."* This statement notes that the Prudential Committee welcomes the Hocking report and largely agrees with it, with one major exception. As the Committee's statement says:

> *We are at one with the Commission in their emphasis on the necessity of adjusting the missionary enterprise to the present-day world...We realize that in order to become an all-pervading and dominant influence in the world the religion of Jesus must express itself everywhere in truly indigenous ways. We believe that the best experience of the Orient has much to teach us. We should be on the alert to find and assimilate everything good in the culture and faith of the people to whom we go. We should be eager to cooperate with every promising effort for the betterment of their life. But we would state with greater emphasis than the Report has done our conviction of the uniqueness of the revelation of God in Christ.*[50]

Leaders of the ABCFM then use various means to acquaint people with the contents of the Hocking report and to receive their views of it. The result is that ABCFM leaders come to feel that most of their supporters and friends basically agree with the position expressed in the Prudential Committee's statement on January 18.[51]

1938 In December, the International Missionary Council meets in Madras, India. As ABCFM historian Fred Field Goodsell stated in 1959, the insights at this assembly were so important, that in centuries to come, they might even be viewed as revolutionary. Goodsell notes that unlike any previous gathering of Christians, Christians from all over the world and all kinds of life situations, came together in this Madras assembly and had a new vision. They saw that the Church of Jesus Christ is world-wide and that all Christians really are colleagues of one another. According to Goodsell, this was the beginning of a new era, for the year 1938 is *"a good dividing line between the old and the new in modern Protestant missionary experience."*[52]

1946---France
1960---Taiwan

1960

It has been estimated that this year there are four hundred twenty one missionary agencies in North America sending out 27,219 missionaries.
R. Pierce Beaver, *Pioneers in Mission*, 4.

1962--- Zambia
1964---Brazil and Argentina
1972---Costa Rica
1973---Botswana
1979---Nepal

ENDNOTES

1. This list of established ABCFM missions generally follows the list presented by Dr. Fred Field Goodsell in his book, *You Shall Be My Witnesses: An Interpretation of the History of the American Board, 1810-1960* (Boston: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1959). In addition, some missions are listed which appear in Joseph Tracy's, *History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (New York: M. W. Dodd, 1842), the *Memorial Volume of the First Fifty Years of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1862), or David Stowe's, *Year 175: A Brief History of the United Church Board for World Ministries* (New York: United Church Board for World Ministries, 1984). I do not assume that my list is complete. Source materials sometimes give different dates for the founding of the same ABCFM mission. Sometimes the founding is dated from the time missionaries made initial contact with the mission area, left America to settle in the mission area, or began their mission on site. Note that some dates indicate when the ABCFM assumed responsibility for a mission which had already been initiated by another missionary society.

2. William Strong, *The Story of the American Board: An Account of the First Hundred Years of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1910), 19-21.

3. Joseph Tracy, *History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (New York: M. W. Dodd, 1842), 55-56; R. Pierce Beaver, ed. *Pioneers in Mission: The Early Missionary Ordination Sermons, Charges and Instructions, A Source Book on the Rise of American Missions to the Heathen* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1966), 254-255.

4. Fred Field Goodsell, *They Lived Their Faith: An Almanac of Faith, Hope and Love* (Boston: American Board of Commissioners, 1961), 174-175, 227, 287-288; Gabriel, Ralph H., *Elias Boudinot, Cherokee* (Oklahoma University Press, 1941).

5. Goodsell, *They Lived Their Faith*, 227.

6. Tracy, 54, 87, 125, 140-141, 160, 174; Goodsell, *They Lived their Faith*, 287-288; John A. Andrew III, *Rebuilding the Christian Commonwealth: New England Congregationalists & Foreign Missions, 1800-1830* (Lexington, Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 1976), 86-92, 145-146; William R Hutchinson, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1987), 65-67.

7. Edwin Dwight, *Memoirs of Henry Obookiah, (*Honolulu: Woman's Board of Missions for the Pacific Islands, the Hawaii Conference, the United Church of Christ, 1968), 1-2, 13ff.; Tracy, 56-57, 65, 71; Strong, 56; Goodsell, *They Lived Their Faith*, 58-59; Andrew, 100-102.

8. Tracy, 85-86; Strong, 56.

9. Strong, 148-149, Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses,* 221.

10. Stow, 3; Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses*, 53; Goodsell, *They Lived Their Faith*, 396-397. Goodsell indicates that the school formed in 1823 was "Central English School" from which Batticotta Seminary was then formed in 1825.

11. Tracy, 230; E. C. Tracy, *Memoir of the Life of Jeremiah Evarts, Esq., Late Corresponding Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1845), 336-349; Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses,* 40-41.

12. Tracy, 249-254, 266-267, 280-282; Strong, 44-45; Goodsell, *They Lived Their Faith* 14-16; Tim Allen Garrison, "Worcester v. Georgia (1832)," *The New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 22 May 2006 <www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/nge/Article.jsp?id=h-2720>.

13. Wm. Thompson, *Memoirs of the Rev. Samuel Munson and the Rev. Henry Lyman, Late Missionaries to the Indian Archipelago, with the Journal of their Exploring Tour* (New York: B. Appleton & Co., 1834), 76-77; Tracy, 177, 294-295; Strong, 116-118.

14. Tracy, 332; Strong, 49-52; *Letter from the Secretary of the Interior Communicating, In Compliance with the Resolution of the Senate of the 2d Instant, Information in Relation to the Early Labors of the Missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in Oregon, Commencing in I836* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903) [Reprint, Fairfield, Washington, Ye Galleon Press, 1988]; "New Perspectives on the West, Marcus Whitman (1802-1847), Narcissa Whitman (1808-1847)," Public Broadcasting Service (PBS), 22 May 2006 <www.pbs.org/weta/thewest/people/s_z/whitman.htm>; "New Perspectives on the West, Events in the West, 1830-1840," Public Broadcasting Service (PBS), 22 May 2006 <www.pbs.org/weta/thewest/events/1830_1840.htm#1836>.

15. Rufus, Anderson, *History of The Missions of the American Board of Commissioners For Foreign Missions in India* (Boston: Congregational Publishing Society, 1874), 210-211; Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses* 92-98.

16. Strong, 236, 237, 242, 313; Goodsell, *They Lived Their Faith*, 131, 132.

17. Thomas Laurie, *The Ely Volume: or, The Contributions of our Foreign Missions to Science and Human Well-Being* (Boston: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1881), 206.

18. Strong, 166-169; Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses,* 36-39; Goodsell, *They Lived Their Faith,* 118-119.

19. Albert E. Dunning, *Congregationalists in America: A Popular History of their Origin, Belief, Polity, Growth and Work* (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1894), 338.

20. *Proceedings at the Dedication of the Missionary Monument in Mission Park, Williamstown, Mass., July 28, 1867* (Boston: Press of T.R. Marvin & Son, 1867), 4, 13-14.

21. Goodsell, *They Lived Their Faith*, 239-240.

22. Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses*, 144.

23. Strong, 302-303; Goodsell, *They Lived Their Faith*, 75-76.

24. Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses,* 251-252.

25. Thomas Laurie, vii.

26. Goodsell, *They Lived Their Faith*, 276-278.

27. Goodsell, *They Lived Their Faith*, 389-390.

28. Williston Walker, *A Brief History of the Congregational Churches in the United States* 6th ed., The American Church History Series (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907) 418.

29. *The Case of the Rev. William H. Noyes, Foreign Missionary of the Berkeley Street Church, Boston* (Boston: T. R. Marvin & Son, 1889); Strong, 330-332; Walker, 415-422; Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses* 110-116; Goodsell, *They Lived Their Faith*, 83-84.

30. Goodsell, *They Lived Their Faith*, 282-283, 350-351.

31. Dunning, 340.

32. Walker, 326.

33. Goodsell, *They Lived Their Faith*, 150.

34. Strong, 401-402; Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses*, 65-66; Louise Jenison Peet, *No Less Honor: The Biography of William Wheelock Peet* (Chattanooga, E.A. Andrews, 1939); Teresa Carpenter, *The Miss Stone Affair: America's First Modern Hostage Crisis* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2003).

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36. "The Centennial Meeting at Mission Park, Williamstown," *The Missionary Herald*, December 1906, Volume CAI, Number 12, 585-588.

37. Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses* 184-185; Goodsell, *They Lived Their Faith*, 332-334; Curtis Manning Gear, *The Hartford Theological Seminary, 1834-1934* (Hartford, Connecticut: The Case, Lacewood & Barnard Company, 1934), 211-218; "History, Hartford Seminary," May

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39. This is also about the same route Dr. Samuel Spring and Dr. Samuel Worcester took when they traveled in a chaise to attend that same GAMP meeting in Bradford. *American Board Centennial, 1910: Pilgrimage to Andover, Wednesday, October 12, Itinerary and Dedication Service;* Goodsell, *They Lived Their Faith*, 361.

40. *Proceedings at the Unveiling of the Monument to Commemorate the Organization of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Bradford, Mass., October 12, 1910*. Also, it is to be noted that the meeting house of the First Church of Christ, Bradford is the one that sat on this Common in 1810, before that congregation acquired a new church building.

41. Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses*, 27-28.

42. Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses,* 229, note 1.

43. Earnest Hocking, chairman, The Commission of Appraisal, *Re-thinking Missions: A Laymen's Inquiry after One Hundred Years* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1932).

44. Hocking, 28; Hutchinson, 162.

45. Hocking, 114.

46. Hocking, 70.

47. Hocking, 70, 33.

48. Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses*, 117-123; Goodsell, *They Lived Their Faith*, 425-426; Hutchinson, 158-173.

49. Hutchinson, 165.

50. "Statement of the American Board's Attitude to the Laymen's Report," January 18, 1933, Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses*, 118-119.

51. Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses*, 120.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

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